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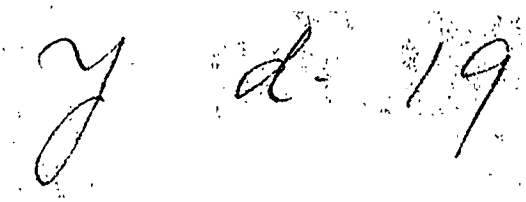

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NINA
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ZANTE

TRAVELS

IN

SICILY GREECE AND ALBANIA

BY THE

REV. THOS. SMART HUGHES

LATE FELLOW OF SAINT JOHN'S AND NOW FELLOW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

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Difficulty of procuring Historical Records for a History of Ioannina—Cursory View of the different Nations who have inhabited Epirus—Conjectures on the Origin of Ioannina—Its History in the Middle Ages—Its Capture by the Turks—Story of Dionysius the Skelosophist—Present Condition of Ioannina in Public Buildings, Schools, &c.—Commerce—Produce of its Soil—Food of the Inhabitants—Climate—Diseases—Cruel Instance of Ali Pasha's Tyranny.

I HOPE I shall not act contrary to the reader's inclination by commencing this volume with a few historical details, respecting the city in which we at this time resided; especially since it has been hitherto very slightly noticed by travellers. Indeed the difficulty of collecting any accurate information respecting it is very great, since neither in its origin, nor in its early progress towards grandeur, was it of consequence enough to engage the particular attention of historians: they merely mention it casually, and in a very unsatisfactory manner. Many historical documents however are said to have once existed in the archives of Ioannina; but I was informed that all or greatest part of these had been destroyed by Mahomet Effendi, Ali's prime minister, to shew his sovereign contempt for the literature of the Franks. I paid a visit to this extraordinary character for the purpose of rescuing, if

possible, some of these records from destruction, but he put me off with a declaration that he had none at all in his possession: the vizir himself had no better success, although he condescended to make an application to the minister in my behalf. Just before we left Ioannina however I was fortunate enough to procure a considerable number of extracts relating to its annals which had been copied at various times by a very learned and respectable Greek gentleman, before the originals came into the possession of Mahomet: of these I shall make considerable use in the latter part of the present memoir.

Before however we enter upon the particular history of this city, it will be right to advert, as briefly as is consistent with the connexion of events, to the various tribes who have acted a part upon the theatre in which it is situated. In very early ages Epirus was inhabited, as I have before observed, by fourteen semibarbarous nations, intermingled with many Grecian colonies. North of these lay the still more rude and savage Illyrians, with whom the Epirotic tribes became insensibly intermingled*. They were long defended from invaders not more by their own valour than by the lofty chains of mountains that intersect their rugged country, and prevented the Greeks from subduing them. In process of time the Molossi first emerged from the state of surrounding barbarism: Tharyps, their patriotic prince, improved both the manners and the language of this nation; Philip king of Macedonia raised them into notice by his union with Olympias, sister of Alexander their sovereign, and Pyrrhus spread around them the glory of martial exploits and consummate military skill. Before this time however the Illyrian provinces had been united, though with no very firm bond, to the Macedonian dynasty, under which they remained till the defeat of Perseus: but the period now approached when the Romans, those inveterate enemies of every thing great, and noble, and free in all other nations, took a severe re-

* Ἀναμέμικται δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη, &c. Strab. l. vii. p. 502.

venge for the invasion of Pyrrhus: after various and cruel ravages in the Illyrian, Ætolian, and Macedonian wars, the whole country was laid waste by the Consul Æmilius Paulus, whose fierce army in one day sacked seventy cities*, sold 150,000 of the wretched inhabitants into slavery, overthrew their walls, and left them in a state of ruin which at this day attests the fury of those inhuman conquerors.

After this scene of destruction the Epirotic nations were governed by Roman prefects, Macedonia being divided into four distinct provinces, called Macedonia the First, Second, Third, and Fourth; in which latter were comprised the Illyrian tribes†. When Augustus separated the provinces of the empire into Imperial, and Prætorian or Senatorial, he left amongst the latter class Macedonia and Illyria, with Epirus, which, conjointly with Acarnania, Ætolia, Thessaly, and the rest of Grecia Propria, formed the province of Achaia‡. Tiberius took Macedonia and Achaia into the number of Imperial provinces§, but they were restored again to the senate by Claudius‖. Under the reign of Constantine the Great, Illyricum and Epirus were comprised in the province of Pannonia and governed by an officer with the appellation of vice-præfect¶. In the division of the empire after the death of Constantine, Illyricum Macedonia and Greece, with Italy and Africa, acknowledged the sovereignty of Constans his youngest son, who after-

* A.A.C. 166.

† ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ, ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ, ΤΡΙΤΗ, ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ. I have seen many medals relating to these divisions. One is in the possession of my friend Mr. Parker, on the obverse of which is a beautiful female head with a diadem, and on the reverse a knotted club surrounded with an oak garland and the legend—

ΗΡ
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ
ΠΡΩΤΗΣ
Ν.

‡ Dion Cass. l. liii. § 12. Strab. l. xvii. sub fin.

§ Tac. Ann. l. i. c. 76.

‖ Dion Cass. lx. § 24. Sueton. c. 25.

¶ Rome and Constantinople at this time were governed by præfects, under whom vice-præfects administered justice in the provinces. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 109. Pancirolus, p. 161. Cod. Justin. l. xii. tit. 56 and 57.

wards put his elder brother to death and seized upon the throne of Constantinople: after his own murder by Magnentius, the veteran general Vetranio, who had been governor of the Illyrian provinces, usurped the purple. Epirus, with the rest of Greece, appears to have benefited by the taste and liberality of Julian, who repaired many of its cities, especially Nicopolis, where he celebrated and restored the Actian games to a considerable degree of splendour.

At the elevation of Theodosius to a participation of imperial honours, the præfecture of Illyricum was dismembered, whilst Thessalonica was strongly fortified against the incursions of barbarians, and made the capital of all the Illyrian provinces. No ravages which these countries suffered since the days of Æmilius Paulus, are to be compared with those inflicted on them by Alaric in his invasion of Greece at the latter end of the fourth century, when he retreated from Peloponnesus, after his defeat by Stilicho: through the timid policy of the Byzantine court this Gothic general was himself created prefect of Illyricum, from whence he issued to plunder the fruitful plains of Italy.

In the middle of the fifth century, under the contemptible reign of Theodosius the younger, these provinces were again afflicted by the scourge of war in the hands of Attila, nor did they suffer much less in the subsequent devastations committed by Genseric and his Vandals.

Near the middle of the sixth century they were laid waste, together with the rest of the European empire, by a terrible incursion of Huns or Bulgarians, so dreadful, says Gibbon, as almost to efface the memory of past inroads*: these barbarians spreading from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian gulf, destroyed thirty-two cities or castles, razed Potidœa to the ground, and then repassed the Danube, dragging at their horses' tails 120,000 subjects of Justinian, whilst 3,000 Sclavonians plundered with impunity the cities of Illyricum and Thrace.

* Vol. iv. p. 221.

On the contraction of the Byzantine empire after the death of Heraclius, it was divided into districts called Themes, seventeen of which were included in the Asiatic, and twelve in the European part. One of these was called the Macedonian Theme, another the Theme of Nicopolis, comprising old Epirus and Acarnania, another of Thessalonica, and a fourth of Dyrachium, which was the capital of those southern Illyrian tribes, comprehended under the title of New Epirus or Provincia Prævalitana.

Of all the barbarous nations which overran that part of the Byzantine empire now called European Turkey, none sent forth such immense and continual hordes as the Bulgarians. From the middle of the sixth century to the fall of Constantinople in the fifteenth, this wild and fierce people issuing from the vast plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, spread themselves over the finest provinces, sometimes being defeated with terrible slaughter, at others obtaining settlements by force of arms or the weak policy of the emperors, to whom they paid a nominal subjection, or exacted tribute from his coffers according to their own circumstances. They occupied very considerable districts in Epirus and Illyricum, in which country, about the latter part of the ninth century they established their capital at Achris or Ochris, the ancient Lychnidus, to whose ruler, named Peter, the emperor Romanus gave the title of king, together with his grand-daughter in marriage. This capital was in the beginning of the 10th century destroyed by Basil II. surnamed the Bulgarian-Killer*. (βελγαροκτόνος.) At the sacking of the city, he found a treasure consisting of 10,000 pounds weight in gold, but his cruelty left an indelible stain upon his character which no valour could obliterate: he blinded 15,000 of his captives, leaving a single eye alone to one out of each hundred, that he might lead his companions to the presence of their sovereign: that compassionate prince is said to have died with grief at the sight, but the

* Acropolita, c. xi.

unfortunate victims lived to excite the spirit of revenge in a succeeding generation, and bequeath it to their posterity. But though the Bulgarians lost Achris they still continued in possession of other districts, and by the end of the tenth century had extended themselves to the most southern parts of Epirus, being masters of the city of Nicopolis*. Probably at this time the Albanians were driven by these and other invaders into the more inaccessible parts of the country, from whence they emerged about a century after the destruction of Achris and began to act a more important part upon this theatre.

Conjointly with the Bulgarians we often find the Servians mentioned by the Byzantine historians as making inroads and establishments in the eastern empire. These people were of a Sclavonian origin, and chiefly established themselves upon the Danube, in that district which still bears their name: they were governed by an hereditary monarch, under the title of Cral, a Sclavonic word signifying king, and in the twelfth century they are mentioned by Cantacuzene as having colonies and settlements in the southern part of Macedonia, towards the borders of Thessaly, where a city remains to this day, which testifies their dominion by its appellation of Servia. Even so early as in the tenth century there is reason to believe that nearly all Greece was colonised and interspersed with various tribes of Sclavonian descent, who contributed to alter the manners and debase the language of its people†. Among these tribes a very curious people were found, who still exist in considerable numbers, retaining all their peculiarities of language habits and customs, amidst the mountain ridges of Epirus and Macedonia. These were the Vlakhi or Valachians, whose dialect, containing a large intermixture of Latin words, supplies a reason for referring their origin to the Roman colonies planted in Dacia and Mœsia by Trajan and his

* Cedrenus, p. 628.

† Καὶ νῦν δὲ πᾶσαν Ἤπειρον καὶ Ἑλλάδα σχεδὸν καὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Μακεδονίαν Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι νομονται· Epit. Strab. Geog. l. vii. p. 99. ed. Huds.

successors. The original Valachians were so warlike that they frequently endangered the very seat of empire*, but their descendants are a peaceable, inoffensive race, addicted principally to pastoral occupations. They were extirpated in the more northern districts by the conquering arms of the Turks, and the remnant now found were preserved in the mountain fastnesses of the south.

It seemed as if each tempest of war that troubled Europe cast a wave upon the devoted shores of this country, and that every emigratory inundation left a portion of slime upon its plains. In the latter part of the eleventh century Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond led their fierce adventurous Normans out of the kingdom of Apulia, in which they had been firmly established, to attack the frontiers of the eastern empire on the other side of the Adriatic. Their first enterprise was the siege of Durazzo, which was bravely defended by its governor George Palæologus till the arrival of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus†. This enterprise not only introduces the Albanians for the first time into historical notice, a people destined hereafter to act so conspicuous a part in the annals of Epirus, but occasions the earliest mention of Ioannina, the capital of their extended empire.

After an unsuccessful battle fought by Alexius under the walls of Durazzo, he fled to Achris, leaving a Venetian garrison in command of the citadel, and the city itself under the government of Comiscorta an *Albanian* chieftain‡. The victorious Robert deliberated for some time whether he should press the siege, as the season was far advanced, or retire into winter quarters at Glabinitza, and re-commence operations in the ensuing spring. A secret correspondence which he entered into with one of the Venetian garrison determined him to remain, and

* They contributed chiefly, with the Bulgarian and other northern tribes, to gain the battle of Adrianople, which led to the expulsion of Baldwin from the Byzantine throne, A. D. 1205. The Vlakhi of Epirus are called Κέτζο-Βλάχοι (or lame Vlakhi) to distinguish them from the original settlers on the Danube named Μαῦρο-Βλάχοι (or black Vlakhi.)

† Father of the celebrated Anna the historian. The siege commenced in June, A. D. 1081.

‡ Annæ Comn. Alex. l. iv. sub fin.

the city was delivered up on the 8th of February, 1082. After this success he was recalled to Italy by a rebellion among his own states*, and left his son Bohemond to prosecute the war.

This celebrated warrior trod in the footsteps of his victorious father. According to the account of Anna Comnena he led his troops through the heart of Epirus, and occupied a most important and advantageous station at Ioannina, fortifying its castron or citadel† and repairing the walls, whilst he entrenched his army amongst the beautiful vineyards in its vicinity. From this post he sent out parties to ravage the adjacent towns: these committed so many enormities that the emperor once more collected an army with all possible expedition and marched forth to give them battle. In the conflict which ensued under the walls of Ioannina, and which lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, the imperial forces were totally routed, although Alexius, according to the partial but very pardonable account of his filial historian, performed prodigies of valour, standing like a vast tower opposed to the raging waves of battle, remaining till his best troops and officers were all cut in pieces around him, and then only flying to preserve himself for better hopes and greater dangers.

The course of events hath thus brought us to the city of Ioannina: we shall however have occasion to dwell for a short time only upon its early annals; since no historian has left us any account of its origin, or progress, or the character of its people, in those ages when human beings were reduced to the lowest point of degradation and all the energies of mind corrupted or destroyed by the enervating influence of the Byzantine government: neither does it derive any importance from its connexion with literature and the fine arts, nor claim a share

* In 1084 he marched to the relief of Pope Gregory VII. of whom he declared himself the protector, though he had formerly been excommunicated by that pontiff. He died in Cephalonia, July 17th, 1085, as he was preparing a renewal of his attack upon the eastern empire.

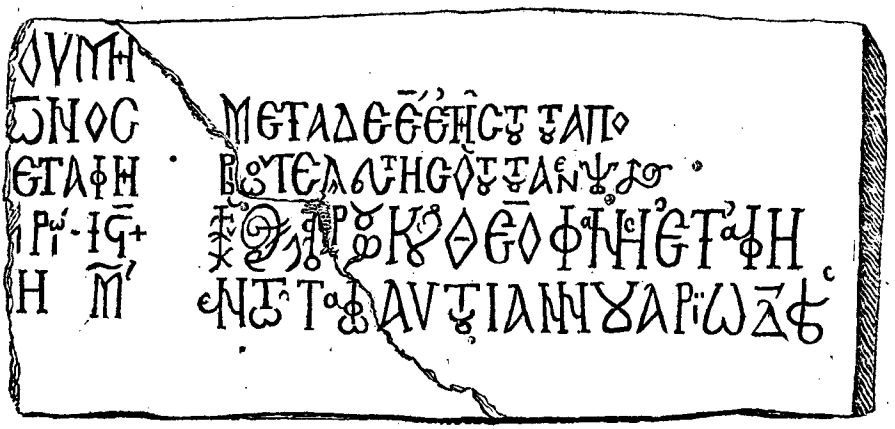
† That incomparable geographer Meletius says it was fortified by Michael Ducas, the sebastocrator (read protostrator), uncle of the Princess Anna Comnena.

of that partiality which we so indelibly acquire for the Grecian name. Its annals are enveloped in an obscurity which I am afraid no labour of research can now dissipate: its inhabitants have passed from the face of the earth without leaving any traces of their existence that can enable us to enjoy their triumphs or sympathize in their misfortunes, and even those which an imperfect history endeavours to designate, appear like shadows in the twilight, which the eye can barely distinguish from the surrounding gloom. The sole interest connected with Ioannina rests, for a basis, upon the character and exploits of its present ruler, who, during a series of the most eventful circumstances, has raised it from the head of a small pashalic to be the capital of Old and New Epirus.

Respecting the first foundation of this city nothing is certain. Some refer it to the celebrated John Cantacuzene, others to Michael Ducas and an unknown despot Thomas*, others again to an equally unidentified despot John: but many things seem to denote that its foundation took place long before the title of despot was given to the ruler of a province: nor can it be surprising that the security of its site, the fertility of its plains, the advantage of its spacious and magnificent lake, the barriers of its mountain ridges, should attract the eye of the citizen and the soldier, both as an agreeable residence and an impregnable fortress. There can be no doubt but that it was occupied in very early ages of the Byzantine empire. From Anna Comnena, who first makes mention of it in the eleventh century, we find that its castron or citadel was then *dilapidated* and *repaired* by the gallant Bohemond: many centuries therefore had probably elapsed before this dilapidation took place, through neglect and confidence; for the very silence of history concerning it affords presumptive evidence that its commanding

* This opinion seems to have arisen from a monumental inscription discovered in digging for the foundations of a house in Ioannina, which signifies HERE LIES DUKE THOMAS, GOVERNOUR OF IOANNINA. This Mr. Jones saw, but I did not: it however proves nothing with regard to the foundation of the city.

situation imposed awe and respect upon invaders. A minute inspection of some ancient ruins still remaining in the castron inclined me to refer the original edifice to the age of Justinian, who, as we learn from Procopius, erected innumerable castles and fortresses throughout all parts of his dominions, particularly in Epirus and Macedonia*: the style of building too very accurately coincides with other edifices attributed to that emperor, especially with one at Konizza, situated at the distance of one day and a half from Ioannina. What light may be thrown upon the matter by the following inscription, which I copied at the mosque of the serai, which stands upon the site of an ancient church, is left to the decision of those who are better acquainted with palæography than myself†.



* He is mentioned by this author as ὅλην τὴν Ελλάδα περιβαλών τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι· he gives lists of the forts built and repaired, of which those in Old and New Epirus alone amounted to 44 built, and 50 repaired. De Ædif. l. iv. c. 1. ὅτω συνεχῆ τὰ ἐρύματα ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἀπεργασάμενος, ὥστε ἀγρὸς ἕκαστος ἢ φρούριον ἀποτετόρνευται, ἢ τῷ τειχισμένῳ πρόσοικός ἐστιν, ἐντᾦθά τε καὶ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ τῇ τε νέᾳ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ καλουμένῃ. Lib. iv. c. 2.

† The name, which is always written in the plural number τὰ Ἰωάννινα, leads us to suppose that its immediate founder was some person of the name of Ἰωάννης, or John: otherwise we might suspect, connecting other circumstances with it, that its appellation was derived from Ioannina, the daughter and sole heiress of the Great Belisarius, who was forcibly married to Anastasius, who is called the grandson (θυγατριδοῦς) of the Empress Theodora. (Procop. Hist. Arcan. c. iv. ¤.) Gibbon would

From the time of the Norman invasion, Ioannina seems to have been totally unnoticed by historians till the capture of Constantinople by the Franks, and the consequent foundation of the great despotate of Epirus, or of the West, as it is sometimes called, by Michael Angelus, a bastard son of John the Sebastocrator. This Michael had married a daughter of the governor of Durazzo, which gave him such an interest in the western provinces, that he quickly subdued and united under his sway Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, with the strong cities of Ioannina, Arta, and Naupactus*. Michael having sent for his brother Theodore, who resided at the court of Lascaris in Nicæa, and declared him his successor in the despotate, was soon afterwards murdered in his bed, together with his wife, by one of his own domestics named Romæus.

Theodore augmented his possessions by conquest, subduing not only Thessaly but the Bulgarian district of Achris, Albanon, or Albanopolis, and many other strong places in that vicinity†: he defeated and took prisoner Peter of Courtenay, the newly-crowned Emperor of Constantinople, in the strong defiles of the Albanian mountains between the territories of Durazzo and Thessalonica‡; and from the dark expressions of Acropolita the historian, I agree with Gibbon in supposing that he put him treacherously to death: having afterwards conquered Demetrius son of the Marquis Bonifaccio, and taken pos-

translate the word Συγατριδὲς a nephew, contrary to its meaning, which signifies a grandson by the daughter's side; and the historian in the very next chapter calls this Anastasius Τὸν Θεοδώρας ἔκγονον.

* Ἰωαννίνων γὰρ ἦρχε καὶ Ἄρτης καὶ μέχρι Ναυπάκτου. Acropolitæ Hist. c. viii. Nicet. Ann. Balduin. c. ix. p. 410. See also Du Cange Fam. Aug. Byzant. p. 208. Ioannina and Arta are mentioned as the two principal cities of this despotate, in an anonymous poem written about the year 1300, quoted by Colonel Leake in his Researches, p. 166.

Ἦτον ἀνθέντης τῆς Βλαχίας καὶ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
Τῆς Ἄρτης καὶ τῶν Ἰωαννίνων καὶ ὅλη τῆ Δεσποτάτε.

† Acropolita, c. xiv.

‡ Ἐν ταῖς τῆ Αλβανῆ δυσχωρίαις. Acropol. c. xiv.

session of Thessalonica, Theodore caused himself to be crowned emperor in that city by Demetrius Archbishop of Achris, on the refusal of Constantine Metropolitan of Thessalonica*.

When Theodore assumed this empire it would seem that he left the despotate of Epirus to Michael Angelus, son of Michael Angelus Nothus, who was confirmed in his title by the Emperor Vataces. He was a very warlike prince, valiantly opposing and retaking many possessions from the great Manuel Palæologus, who recovered the Byzantine throne from the usurpation of the Latins. At his death he left his Epirotic and Ætolian dominions to his son Nicephorus Angelus, surnamed Ducas, together with the islands of Corcyra, Cephalonia and Ithaca†. Du Cange seems to be in error respecting the death of Nicephorus, which, according to him, took place A. D. 1288; whereas he is described by Cantacuzene as taking an active part in the Ætolian wars during the reign of Andronicus junior, who was not crowned till the year 1325‡.

His son Thomas, by Anna Palæogina, succeeded him in the despotate of Epirus, being confirmed in its possession by Andronicus the elder, whose grand-daughter he married. He was slain by John Count of Zante and Cephalonia, who invaded his dominions and married his widow.

After the death of the Emperor Andronicus junior, and during the commotions that ensued upon the usurpation of the Imperial throne

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* After this he conquered many cities of Thrace, among which was Adrianople, and advanced even to the suburbs of Constantinople itself. He was diverted from his conquests by a rupture with his ally Azan king of the Bulgarians, by whom he was defeated in battle, taken prisoner, and deprived of his sight. Being afterwards liberated (vid. Acropol. c. 38) he recovered the kingdom of Thessalonica from his brother Manuel, who had usurped it in his absence, and transferred the title of emperor to his son John, retaining for himself that of despot, with the secret management of affairs. This John however was obliged by the Emperor Vataces to lay aside his imperial title, though he was allowed to retain that of despot together with his government. His piety and virtues are much eulogized by the historian Acropolita. He died A. D. 1224.

† Niceph. Gregoras, l. iv. pp. 79. 93.

‡ Cantacuzene also makes him son of the despot John, so it is possible there may have been two of this name.

by John Cantacuzene, Stephen Duscian, cral or prince of Servia, overran Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, assumed the title of Emperor of the Romans, and instituted an order of knighthood with all the dignitaries of a Byzantine court. He united the districts of Ioannina, Triccala, and Larissa under the command of one of his satraps, called Prelupus, constituting his brother Simon, or Sinissa, as he is sometimes called, despot of Ætolia and Acarnania. After the death of Stephen, this Simon contended with his son, the Cral of Servia, named Uresis, or Urosius, for the throne, at which time, Prelupus also being dead, Nicephorus* took this opportunity of regaining greatest part of the despotate of the west, forcing Simon to fix his residence at Castoria in Macedonia: from thence however he returned upon the death of Nicephorus, who was slain in a battle with the Albanians near the source of the Achelous†, that people having now become very powerful, and extended themselves over the greatest part of Epirus‡.

Simon, upon these tidings, returned into that part of his former territory, which was called Grecian Vlakia, of which Triccala was the capital: in this city he fixed his wife Thomais, and proceeded himself against Ætolia, which received him submissively, as also did Arta and Ioannina. From these successes he was soon called away by the insurrection of a Servian chief named Clapenus, who had married the widow of Prelupus and taken up his residence in Berrhœa; from thence he made incursions upon the possessions of Simon, instigated in all probability by his wife; for his enmity was soon appeased when Simon gave his daughter, the beautiful and accomplished Angelina, to Thomas, her son by Prelupus.

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* Cantacuzene calls this Nicephorus a son of John Duke of Acarnania, whose death he mentions lib. ii. c. 32.

† So I take the expression of Cantacuzene, who says the battle took place *περί τι χωρίον Ἀχελῶον προσαγορευόμενον* L. iv. c. 43. He employed some Asiatic Turkish auxiliaries in this engagement.

‡ Cantacuz. Hist. passim.

Simon now confined his attention chiefly to the affairs of Vlachia, being unable to resist the arms of the Albanians*, who took possession of Ætolia and Acarnania, which were divided into two districts, under command of the chieftains Ghinos Buïàs and Peter Leoses. Ioannina however resisted all their attempts to subdue it, and its spirited citizens being reduced to great straits, sent a deputation to Simon, imploring his assistance. But in avoiding a lesser evil they unfortunately fell into a greater! Simon, with the forces for their protection, sent back also as their governor, his son-in-law Thomas, whom my MS. designates by the gentle titles of, an imp of darkness, and a son of Satan. With his princess Angelina, he made a triumphant entry into Ioannina amidst the acclamations of the populace; he conducted himself for a short time with candour and moderation, but soon threw off the mask, and appeared in all his native depravity.

The first attack made by this tyrant was upon the church and its treasures, which he pillaged to enrich his Servian followers, driving the excellent bishop, Sebastian, into exile, and turning the cathedral, after he had stripped it of its ornaments, into granaries and storehouses. He next raised his hand against the principal and wealthiest of the inhabitants, confiscating their estates, and driving into exile, without mercy, all except a few, who, by the basest compliances and vilest flattery ingratiated themselves into his favour. Amongst these unworthy citizens are particularized one Bardinus, governor of San. Donato†, and John Capsocavades, who commanded in Rakovitza; these men were his chief counsellors in iniquity and his associates in debauchery. Amidst the tyrannical acts of this monster, which became so great that even his own Servians deserted the city, none excited greater horror than that which he committed against

* Not long before this time they had greatly annoyed the imperial possessions and fortresses in the Illyrian provinces, but had been severely chastised for their audacity by Andronicus jun. assisted by a formidable auxiliary force of Asiatic Turks. Cantacuz. l. ii. c. 32.

† A place in the neighbourhood of Paramithia.

Elias Clauses, one of the best and richest of the citizens, whom he compelled to reveal his treasures by unheard-of cruelties, making him drink water mingled with ashes, and burning his naked body with torches and brimstone, till he expired under the torment.

During the government of this wretch in the year 1368, a terrible pestilence invaded Ioannina, and swept off great numbers of inhabitants: at its conclusion he forced all the rich widows who survived, to marry his despicable companions, and appropriated to his own use the property of the orphans. Whilst the unfortunate city was reduced to a state of misery by the oppressive laws, taxation, monopolies, and other burthens of its domestic tyrant, it was exposed to the greatest external calamities by an Albanian invasion, under Peter Leoses, who was induced to retire by receiving great bribes, and the hand of Irene, Thomas's daughter, in marriage. During the five succeeding years, in which the city was free from all incursions of the Albanians, the depravity of its governor continued to increase.

In the mean time a second pestilence broke out in these parts, raging with particular violence in Ioannina and Arta. At the latter place Leoses himself fell a victim to it; after whose death a very celebrated chieftain, named Spatas, usurped the sovereignty, and joined together under his now formidable dominion, the two Albanian principalities of Ætolia and Acarnania. This warrior came up against Ioannina soon after its sufferings by the plague, and was only diverted from sacking the city by receiving Helen, the tyrant's sister, in marriage, with a regal dowry.

The despot, liberated from this last and most pressing danger, sunk deeper and deeper in iniquity, giving himself up to the guidance of a most abandoned miscreant named Michael Apsaras, who not only led him into the commission of the most enormous and unnatural vices, but alienated his affections from his wife Angelina, a woman who, to great beauty, added the most angelic disposition, and who

had hitherto been able to afford protection to many suppliants against the tyranny and brutality of her husband*.

In the year 1378 the Albanians of Malacassi† under Ghino Frati made an irruption into the territories of Ioannina during the season of vintage, but were defeated and lost a great number in killed and prisoners. In the month of February the following year, a tower of the castron was betrayed by one Nicephorus a native of Peramas‡, to 200 Albanians, who next morning were joined by a large body of their countrymen from the island of the lake, with Valachians and Bulgarians mixed, when the whole castron, with its principal gula or citadel, fell into their hands. During three days the most terrible commotions ensued, and a general assault was prepared against the city by the Albanians in the fortress and their allies in the island. From this danger the citizens were delivered by the interposition of Michael the archangel, who appeared at the head of their armament with his flaming sword, and still continues to be the patron of the city. The expedition from the island being thus met and defeated, the Albanians in the castron surrendered at discretion, all of whom were put to death except a certain number who were sent back as a warning to their countrymen, with the loss of eyes, ears and noses: from this massacre Thomas took the surname of the Albanian-killer (Ἀλβανοκτόνος)§.

In the ensuing month of May Spatas took revenge for these enormities by laying waste the vineyards and corn-fields in the vicinity of Ioannina, in spite of the mean vengeance of Thomas, who hung up before the city walls all the Albanians that fell into his power, or sent

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* She is styled in my Ioannina MS. Ἡ τῷ ὄντι χρυσὴ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτη βασίλισσα.

† A large town of the Pindus about ten miles beyond Mezzovo.

‡ A village at the north end of the lake.

§ The Albanians became very formidable in the fourteenth century, at the latter end of which two of their chiefs shone very conspicuously, Balza in the north and Spatas in the south. Chalcocondyl. l. iv. p. 111: they gained possession of many strong holds and cities in Illyricum, Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Ætolia, and Acarnania. Chalcocond. ibid.

them mutilated into the enemy's camp. Nor did his cruelty towards his own subjects cease: in this very year he put to death Elias, the venerable Bishop of Mezzovo, at the instance of his confidant Apsaras, cut alive into small pieces Theochores an excellent citizen, and dragged another, named Gastiziotes, to death at a horse's tail: many lost their eyes or were kept in miserable dungeons till they discovered their riches to the tyrant. In the year 1380 he fortified various strong castles of his own district*, called in the assistance of the Turks, and carrying fire and sword into the territories of Malacassi and its vicinity inflicted the most horrid cruelties upon the victims who fell into his hands. In 1382 he repeated these incursions with the assistance of the same allies, conquered the cities of Velas, Drynopolis, Bagenetia, and Catuna: he repelled also an incursion of Spatas, who came to demand his wife's dowry which had not all been paid.

In the same year this apostate, by which title he is chiefly designated, received the title of despot from the Emperor Manuel, son of John Palæologus and his associate on the throne.

In the year 1385 the Turks made an incursion against Arta and carried away many Christian captives. Spatas on this occasion dispatched Matthew Archbishop of Ioannina, who happened to be in Arta, to request the assistance of Thomas against these fierce invaders: this was refused, and the poor archbishop banished for his interference. At length his enormities became so revolting that four of his own body-guard conspired to rid the world of such a monster, and effected their design by stabbing him in his bed on the night of December 20, 1385.

This wretch having been buried with the obsequies due to royalty†, his widow Angelina in the month of January 1386, to the great joy of her subjects espoused Izaus Count of Cephalonia, an excellent and virtuous prince: amongst his first acts was the recall of the archbishop

* Amongst these are mentioned Boursina, Critzounista, Dragomi, Velchista and Rakovitza.

† In all probability it is his sepulchre to which the monumental inscription mentioned in p. 9, refers.

from exile, the restoration of the dilapidated walls and revenue of the churches, the destruction of those horrid dungeons in which the late tyrant confined his wretched prisoners, and the punishment of his vile counsellors, the infamous Apsaras being deprived of his eyes and banished with all his family from the realm. After this he protected his country from the depredations of Albanian marauders, many of whom he subjected by his arms, and conciliated others by treaties which were faithfully observed. His good character procured for him the approbation of the Byzantine court and the regal title, the ceremony of his coronation being performed in the cathedral by the archbishop and two of his suffragans, the Bishops of Velas and Drynopolis.

In the year 1387 the good Archbishop Matthew died, and was succeeded by Gabriel prior of the ancient convent called the Archimandreion; its tower was this same year struck by lightning, and falling down crushed fourteen persons to atoms under the ruins.

Izaus entering into alliance with the rulers of Vlakia and Thessalonica, governed his states in peace and tranquillity till the year 1395, when he had the misfortune to lose his wife Angelina, whose remains were followed to the grave by a vast concourse of citizens uttering the most unfeigned accents of grief and lamentation. In 1397, at the instigation of his council, he espoused Irene, the daughter of his old antagonist Spatas, a woman of great beauty and talent: soon after his nuptials he lent his assistance to his Albanian father-in-law against an invasion of the Turks, who were defeated in a bloody battle near Drisco. In the following year Izaus having collected a large force marched against a powerful chieftain of Albania named Ghioni Zenevisi, in the province of Lower Dibra: by him he was defeated and taken prisoner. The news of his captivity being carried to Florence, where he had relations of high rank, they, with the assistance of the Venetian government at Corfu, procured his release by a ransom of 10,000 florins, which was paid at the city of Argyro-Castro, whither Izaus was brought and libe-

rated: from thence in company with his brother Sghurus, he passed over to Corfu, Santa Maura, and Arta, where he was kindly received by Spatas and conducted to Ioannina, in which city he died peaceably on the 29th of April, 1401.

Sghurus succeeded by will to the dominions of his brother, and at the death of Spatas to the government of Arta. Against him came up a celebrated chieftain named Bonghoes, heading a large army of Servians, Albanians, Bulgarians, and Valachians* who drove Sghurus from his dominions, laid waste the country, burned whole towns and villages, and massacred the inhabitants by thousands; so that the MS. concludes this part of its history with a pathetic exclamation of Acarnania weeping for her children and refusing comfort because they are not†. According to my documents this Sghurus was the last Christian prince who reigned at Ioannina‡, which was thenceforth governed by an aristocracy. In the year 1432, the inhabitants, alarmed by the extensive conquests of Murat or Amurath II. in Greece and Macedonia, sent out a detachment of their best troops to guard the passes of Mount Pindus, who cut to pieces all the Turks that were opposed to them. On this occasion the sultan sent the following epistle to the city:

TRANSLATION.

"*Sultan Murat Sovereign of the East and West, to the People of Ioannina, greeting:*

"I counsel you to deliver up to me with good will your fortress, and to receive me as your sovereign, lest you should move me to great

* At least this seems implied by the surname given by the MS. to this leader, who is styled Μπογγόης ὁ Σερβοαλβανοβελγαροβλάχος.

† This expulsion of Sghurus did not take place till after the year 1413, if he be the same governor who is mentioned by the historian Ducas as having sent, as well as some other states, an envoy to congratulate Mahomet I. on his restoration to the throne of Adrianople. Ducæ Hist. Byz. c. xx.

‡ Phranza however makes mention of a despot Charles who died at Ioannina A. D. 1430, just before it fell into the possession of the Turks.

wrath, and I should come up against you with my army and take your city with the sword: then you will suffer all the calamities that other places have suffered, which refusing to acknowledge my power, have been conquered by my arms; whose inhabitants have been sold into slavery through the East and through the West. Come then, let us make a treaty and ratify it with an oath, I on my part that I will respect your rights, and you on yours that you will obey me faithfully."

Upon receipt of this letter the principal inhabitants of Ioannina took counsel together, and fearing to bring down upon themselves the resentment of so powerful a prince sent an embassy to Thessalonica, where he then resided, who delivered the keys of their fortress into his hands*. On their return he sent back with them a Turkish garrison who took possession of the castron with great rejoicings, but soon shewed their enmity against the Christian faith by razing to the ground the ancient church of St. Michael near the great gula or tower.

In a short lapse of time these Mahometans built houses in that part of the city which is now called Turcopalco, and wishing to domiciliate here, obtained the Sultan's permission to take for themselves wives among the daughters of the Greeks. Despairing, however, of success with the ladies, they devised the following scheme to effect their purpose.

Watching the opportunity of a great festival at which the Greek families attended divine service in the cathedral, they armed themselves secretly, and waited at the doors of the church till the congregation came out; then, each person seizing upon the damsel that pleased him best, carried her off in defiance of her relatives and friends. The parents, after a short time, seeing no remedy for the evil, consented to the nuptials, and gave the customary dowry to the husbands.

* Phranza, however reports, that the city was taken by Sinan, general of Murat, in 1431, l. ii. c. 9. Chalcocondilas gives a different account, and says, that it was at this time under the government of Charles, who was called Duke or Prince of Ioannina, a city at that time considered the most important in Greece, next to Thessalonica. Chalcocond. l. v. p. 126.

After this event the Mahometan population of course increased; but, the Greeks still retained possession of the city or castron, though not of the gula or citadel, paying a very moderate tribute and being free from many vexations to which other cities under the Turkish dominion were subject. At length, in the year 1611, the evil star of the Greeks gained the ascendancy and brought upon them such a train of calamities that my MS. can trace them to no other cause but the personal interference of the arch-fiend himself. Their immediate author, or satanic instrument, was Dionysius*, called the Dog-sophist (Σκηλόσοφος) a fit vessel of evil, who had been ejected from his bishopric of Triccala for practising the arts of astrology and necromancy. This personage had the misfortune to dream a dream, in which he saw the Sultan himself rise up in his presence to receive him; and hence conjectured that he was fated by the stars to deliver his country from the Ottoman yoke. Full of this chimerical project, he roamed about the country, with a wallet behind his back and a large flaggon of wine slung by his side, gaining proselytes to his opinion and adherents to his cause. In the course of these wanderings he arrived at the monastery of San Demetrio in the vicinity of Delvinaki, at the distance of about ten hours from Ioannina: understanding that the Turks were less numerous in this city than elsewhere, and that they dwelt for the most part outside the fortress, he determined to make this the scene of his first operations. Having by his pretended skill in astrology and predictions of the fall of the Byzantine empire, as well as by the application of money, collected together a large crowd of followers, he led them by night against the city of Ioannina, which they entered singing the Kyrie Eleison; there they put to death about a hundred Mahometans, and burned several houses, Asuman Pasha the governor, escaping with great difficulty by a secret passage into the citadel.

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* The MS. by a play upon the word, calls him Δαιμονύσιος.

This infatuated mob soon turned their hands to plunder, and became inebriated by the contents of the wine casks which they broke open: this gave the Turks an opportunity to rally, and make a charge upon the rebels, when they slew a great multitude and took many prisoners, whom they reserved for the most exquisite tortures. Dionysius in the tumult escaped, and hid himself in a deep cavern under the north-east precipice of the castron, which is to this day called the cave of the Skelosophist.

Here he eluded for a considerable time the diligent search that was made for him by the Turks, being supplied with bread by a baker, who was acquainted with his place of concealment: he was at last discovered by some Jews of the fortress, and delivered up to his enemies. By them this arch-rebel was flayed alive, and his skin stuffed with straw, sent to Constantinople, and carried into the Seraglio: there it is said, that the Sultan having heard of the singular character of the man, rose up from his divan to view the spectacle, and fulfilled the predictions of the astrologer.

After this rebellion Ioannina was treated by the Turks like all other conquered cities. The principal conspirators, together with many innocent persons, were subjected to extreme punishments, some being impaled, others sawn asunder, and many burnt alive: every Greek church within the castron was then razed to the ground, from which place all Christians were banished for ever by a special firman of the Sultan; but the Jews were allowed to retain their habitations, and received various immunities in consequence of the assistance they had rendered to the Mahometans*.

This expulsion of the Greeks from the castron tended greatly to

* This accounts for the residence of great numbers of Jews here in the present day, and the total exclusion of the Greeks. I find this sedition of Dionysius alluded to in Knolles's History of the Turks, p. 1308. It happened in the reign of Achmet the eighth emperor of Constantinople. The stuffing of the Bishop is also mentioned, but he is there styled a patriarch: it is also added, that the co-operation of some Maltese knights, Neapolitans and Spaniards was expected. Here the Ioannina MS. ends: the rest is collected entirely from the accounts of living persons, or from my own observation.

increase the city, which soon began to extend its arms along the banks of the lake. It seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of tranquillity amidst the convulsions that agitated this part of the world during the last efforts made by the Christian powers to preserve some portion of European Turkey from the overwhelming force of its Ottoman invaders. It was governed by beys, and pashas of two tails, sent by the Porte, but never became the head or capital of a sandgiac till the time of its present sovereign*. His experienced eye soon saw the advantages of its strong central situation, and from the first he determined to make it the focus of his extended dominion. Under him it has risen to that degree of splendour, importance, and population which it now possesses. The number of inhabitants is computed, according to the best calculations that can be made, at forty thousand: since the insulation of the castron and the fortification of Litaritza, it may be said to have two citadels, three palaces, besides a vast number of small serais, eighteen mosques, and six Greek churches. There are also three tekés or Turkish monasteries, and two Jewish synagogues within the castron. The hospital, which was founded through the exertions of Signore Nicolo's father, is capable of receiving 150 patients, who are comfortably lodged and attended by a surgeon, a chaplain, and regular nurses: an annual governor is appointed who inspects the accounts and superintends the whole concern. The public prison is a dreadful place, sufficient to make the stoutest person's heart sink within him. A procuratore attends there daily to administer food and raiment to the wretched prisoners, many of whom would otherwise inevitably perish with hunger and cold: to the credit of the Greek inhabitants they make no distinction in this distribution between Christian, Jew, or Mahometan.

Ioannina contains two schools in which the ancient languages are taught. The first was founded about one hundred and thirty years ago by

* This pashalic is divided into four districts or provinces called Palaio-Pogogianni, Zagori, Kurrendas, and Grevena.

one Ghioni, a merchant of this city, who had acquired a large fortune by commercial speculations in Valachia. He placed the funds for the support of this foundation in the bank of Venice, which being confiscated when the French took possession of that republic, the school has since been supported by the genuine liberality of an excellent family named Zosimas, long settled in Russia, Poland and Austria, and who being free from the oppression of despotic power, and enlightened by an intermixture with more civilized nations, seek, in their enthusiastic love for their native country, to pour the treasures of literature into her bosom; and as they are unable to assist her degraded sons by arms, aim at supplying them with the more sure, though slow remedies of knowledge*. About 300 scholars are taught in this seminary, at the head of which is Signore Balano, a most venerable man and excellent scholar: his long white beard descending to his waist, with his mild, amiable manners, brings forcibly to the mind a picture of an ancient philosopher †. At the school over which Signore Psalida presides, about one hundred boys are educated: it was founded only thirty years ago by a rich merchant named Picrozoe, born at Gramenou, a small village in the vicinity of Ioannina. To both these seminaries are attached excellent libraries: that of Psalida's possesses also a pair of fine globes, and some good astronomical instruments. A system of teaching, partly similar to that instituted by Dr. Bell, has been long established in this place. The Turks do not give themselves

* These benevolent brothers have deposited a large sum for this purpose in the bank of Moscow: by their exertions and munificence a vast number of Romaic books are constantly published and distributed over Greece, with grammars and elementary treatises; they afford assistance for any promising literary publication, and supply many young men of talent with the means of travelling for improvement, or studying at foreign universities. I believe that excellent patriot and accomplished scholar Korai, who is using every exertion to clear his native language from the corruptions of the mixobarous style into which it had fallen, owes his first patronage to the benevolence of the Zosimades.

† The geographer Miletius, a native of Ioannina, and afterwards archbishop of Athens, was master of this school, as also was the celebrated Eugenius of Corfu, who translated the Æneid into Greek hexameters. Signore Balano has published a Treatise on Algebra and Arithmetic. His father and his brother were both masters of the school before him. The principal Greek schools in Turkey besides these of Ioannina are at Constantinople, Smyrna, Buckarest, Kidhonies, Salonica, Milies on Mount Pelion, Mount Athos, Athens, Chios and Patmos. Venice and Vienna are the chief marts for books.

much trouble about the education of their children: a man amongst them who is able to write, is looked on as a being of a superior order, and assumes vast importance by carrying a calamboio, or silver ink-stand, as the sign of his mystery, stuck in his girdle. Still there are two large buildings in Ioannina appropriated to this purpose, and to every mosque a small room is attached, in which children are taught to read the Koran. The Greek churches of Ioannina are in general large and ornamented with much gilding: they form a striking contrast with the Turkish mosques, which are singularly plain. As the vizir cares very little about any religion, he is extremely tolerant of all, and in no part of Turkey are the Greeks allowed so many privileges: that which they seem to value most, is the power of calling together their congregations by a bell: the Mahometans disdain to do this by any other sound than that of the human voice; and certainly the sonorous tones of their muzzeins issuing from the light galleries of the airy minarets, wafted over all the city at the hours of prayer, produce an extraordinary and sublime effect.

The chief commerce of Ioannina is carried on with Constantinople, Russia, Venice, and Malta. From the first it procures shawls, turbans, amber, and a variety of toys; from the second oxen, horses, skins, and ermine; from Venice come rich velvets, red skull-caps, and many articles of hardware; from Malta various English manufactures and colonial produce: many houses of Ioannina have a partner, or some connexion, established in these places. Every article pays an ad valorem duty at the Dogana of four per cent. The chief exports sent in exchange are, cotton from the plains of Triccala, Zeitun, and Livadia, raw silk from Thessaly, Lepanto, and Salona, Valonéan bark from Acarnania, prepared goat and sheep skins, and sometimes, though not very frequently, grain. Great profit accrues to the merchants of Ioannina from the distribution of their imports over the smaller towns and villages of Epirus: their domestic manufactures are not numerous: indeed here, as in other countries, the state of manu-

factures is a fair criterion of the state of civilization: whilst the workmanship of all articles that may conduce to general comfort, convenience, and utility, or to the interests of philosophy and science, is quite contemptible, great industry and considerable skill is exhibited in the embroidery of cloth, in filagree, in working silver handles for pistols, muskets, and ataghans, and in ornamenting pipe-heads.

The soil around Ioannina yields grain of most kinds, viz. wheat, barley, arabositi, calamboci, beans and peas: its fruits are grapes, figs, peaches, apricots, plums, almonds, cherries, quinces, oranges, lemons, pears and apples; great abundance of the latter are imported from the district of Zagori, on the other side the lake, and conveyed in boats across the water*: hemp and very fine tobacco is also grown in certain spots. The town is plentifully supplied with fish and wild-fowl from the lake, and the surrounding plains and mountains furnish abundance of game: hares, however, owing to a particular superstition, are never eaten either by Turks or Greeks. Very little animal food is consumed here comparatively, as in other Grecian cities. The diet of all ranks is rather spare and simple: oil enters into almost every article of culinary composition, and is relished the better for a slight taint or haut-gout. Botargo, which is the roe of the red or grey mullet, and caviar, which is that of the sturgeon, imported from the Black Sea, form a very favourite diet, especially during the season of religious fasts. Cow's milk is never used for diet; only that of sheep and goats, from which also a cheese is made which is very pungent and disagreeable to the taste. Ducks and geese are scarce, but fowls and turkeys very plentiful: turtle-doves are also plentiful and much esteemed, as also beccaficos at the proper season of the year: the wine used at table is less impregnated with

* Epirus was celebrated in ancient times for fine apples, called orbiculata. "Orbiculata ex figura orbis in rotunditatem circumacti: hæc in Epiro primum provenisse argumento sunt Græci qui Epirotica vocant." Plin. N. Hist. l. xv. c. 14.

resin than in other parts of Greece, except what is drank by the poorer classes, which is a villanous compound, and like most other marketable commodities, bought by weight: the chief food of these classes consists of a coarse yellow polenta made of arabositi, which looks very like a rice-pudding*; under an idea that it might resemble it also in taste, I once purchased a lump for a para, and was nearly choked by the first mouthful, being obliged to wash it down with a most nauseous draught of resined wine from the same shop, almost as bad as spirits of turpentine.

The climate of Ioannina is more variable than is generally found in Greece: in the summer the heat is quite oppressive: the winter is sometimes very rainy, at others extremely cold, and the inhabitants, who at one season of the year clothe themselves in the lightest apparel, at the other wrap themselves up in robes lined with furs: the common people preserve their shivering limbs from the severity of the weather beneath cloaks of thick homespun fleecy cloth. Earthquakes are common, and most frequent in the autumn: they sometimes throw down the houses, and the fish have been known cast out of the lake upon dry ground.

Amongst the maladies generally prevalent in large cities, fevers of all kinds are common at Ioannina, especially nervous ones: these arise chiefly from insalubrious dwellings, dirty habits of life, accumulation of filth in the streets, deficiency of wholesome nutriment, and above all from the great number of Albanese troops which are quartered by the vizir upon the houses of the citizens: this is, without exception, the most grievous and vexatious imposition to which these poor people are subject; and nothing tends so much to corrupt their morals and to vitiate their manners: indeed all domestic comfort and

* This polenta resembles the μάζα ἀμολγαίη of Hesiod, a cake made of milk and maize for labouring people. Athenæus mentions a maize cake as the food of the lower classes, who could not afford to buy bread. (Lib. xiv. 663..6.) Such an one as eat it was sometimes called μαζαγρέτης, which signifies a voracious fellow, that would devour any thing that came in his way. Lib. xv. 686.

purity of life must necessarily be destroyed in that family upon which ten, twenty, thirty, or even forty of the most abandoned soldiery are quartered, who join, both officers and men, in the most wanton exercise of power without any responsibility or dread of punishment: sometimes they are sent for the very purpose of gratifying the vizir's resentment, whether just or unjust. The venerable old Turkish gentleman whom I have before mentioned as having been sent to play at chess with Mr. Parker, had been obliged for many months to support fifty of these soldiers; they had broken every window in his house, destroyed all his furniture, torn down his portico for fire-wood, and obliged him to reside in the confined apartments of his harem, from whence not a female of his family dare stir out; and all this for some imaginary offence which he had given to the pasha: yet this person was universally considered the most inoffensive and amiable Mahometan in Ioannina. Such are the blessings of tyranny!

CHAPTER II.

Marriage Procession of Giovanni Melas—Marriage Feast and various Entertainments—Reflections upon the State of Female Society in Greece—Story of Phrosini—Story of Gelisem—Marriage Ceremonies—Albanian Wedding.

OUR friend Mr. Cockerell had not left us many days before we had opportunities of witnessing many interesting and curious scenes, in the enjoyment of which we would most gladly have had his participation. One of these was the marriage feast of Giovanni Melas, a young Greek merchant, one among the best educated, most intelligent, and most respectable men of the city. It was on a Saturday evening that we went with Signore Nicolo to view the nocturnal procession which always accompanies the bridegroom in escorting his betrothed spouse from the paternal roof to that of her future husband: this consisted of near a hundred of the first persons in Ioannina with a great crowd of torch-bearers and a band of music. After having received the lady they returned, but were joined by an equal number of ladies, who paid this compliment to the bride; these were also attended by their maid-servants, many of whom carried infants in their arms dressed in prodigious finery. The little bride who appeared extremely young, walked with slow and apparently reluctant steps, according to custom, supported by a matron on each side and another behind*. The streets were crowded with people, among whom

* This ceremony may throw some light upon the expression of St. Paul, γυναῖκα περιάγειν (Cor. i. c. ix. v. 5.) misunderstood by many commentators.

Signore Melas threw several handfuls of money at the door of his dwelling: we ourselves were here introduced to him, and with great politeness he ordered the band of music to accompany us back.

Next day, being Sunday, we understood that the Archbishop of Ioannina attended at the house of Signore Melas to place the tinsel crowns upon the heads of the new couple, light the tapers, put the rings on the fingers, and perform all the other tedious ceremonies of a Greek wedding. The consummation of the marriage rite and the unloosening of the mystic zone is deferred till the third day of the ceremonials.

On this day a grand nuptial entertainment was given, as is usual, to which all the particular friends and connexions of the bride and bridegroom were invited. In the evening we sent our congratulations to Signore Melas, with an intimation that if agreeable we would pay our respects to him personally on his marriage. This, as we had foreseen, was considered as a compliment; the band of music was sent to precede us to the house, at the door of which we found our host waiting to receive us: from thence he led us into the festive chamber and introduced us to his guests, I mean to the male part of them, since, as it has been before observed, in this semi-barbarous country the sexes are separated at all convivial entertainments; a custom which, more than every other, stops the progress of refinement, throwing over the amusements of society languid insipidity or tainting them with sottish degradation. We found Signore Melas's friends, after having partaken of the *equal feast*, pouring out copious libations to the rosy god, and singing hymeneal songs to the discordant harmony of fiddles and guitars. All rose up at our entrance, receiving us with every mark of attention, and seating us at the upper end of the divan, one on each side of Signore Alessio, the governor of Zagori, a great favourite with the vizir, who it seems acted for the bridegroom as master of the ceremonies*.

* He was the chief bridesman or παράνυμφος on this occasion.

In the interval between our introduction and supper, a fool or zany was called in to divert the company by acting with a clown a kind of pantomime, the ludicrous nature of which consisted in practical jokes and hard knocks upon the clown's pate, which strongly excited the risible faculties of the spectators.

We were much more pleased with the next species of entertainment, which consisted of an exhibition of the Albanitico or national dance of the Albanian palikars, performed by several of the most skilful among the vizir's guards who had been invited to the feast. The evolutions and figures of this exercise served to display the astonishing activity and muscular strength of these hardy mountaineers, who grasping each other lightly by the hands, moved for a time slowly backwards and forwards, then hurried round in a quick circular movement according to the excitement of the music and their own voices, whilst the coryphæus or leader, who was frequently changed, made surprising leaps, bending backwards till his head almost touched the ground, and then starting up into the air with the elastic spring of a bow, whilst his long hair flowed in wild confusion over his shoulders*. After

* This Albanitico has been considered by many as a remnant of the ancient Pyrrhic dance: but it is astonishing how ancient authors differ amongst themselves regarding the nature of the Pyrrhic, which seems generally allowed to have had its origin in Crete; or at least to have been first made known to the rest of Europe from that island. Τὴν Πυῤῥίχην πρῶτος ἔυρε Πυῤῥίχος Κυδωνιάτης Κρὴς τὸ γένος. Nic. Damasen. de Mor. Gent. in Stobæi, Serm. xlii. See also Lucian, who refers it to Crete, though he derives it from the sacred dances of the Curetes: de Saltatione, § 8. Aristoxenus, quoted by Athenæus (lib. xiv. c. 7.) says it was an invention of Pyrrhicus, a Spartan at Lacedæmon, and calls it a military exercise: but as the laws and constitution of this country were brought from Crete, a mistake concerning the origin of a custom might easily arise. Strabo asserts (lib. x. p. 701, ed. Ox.) that the Pyrrhic was different from the armed dance, ἐνοπλίος ὀρχήσις, and Aristophanes refers it to a species of that lascivious and immodest dance called the Κόρδαξ, for delighting in which Philip of Macedon is so severely upbraided by Demosthenes: and hence the satirical poet condemns all those who practise it to punishment in the infernal regions, Ran. 153. Most authors however consider the Pyrrhic as a military dance, and many ascribe its origin to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who is said greatly to have excelled in it. From a consideration of all circumstances I should think it not improbable that there were two kinds of Pyrrhic, the one a vile lascivious movement, the other a manly and martial exercise: and this latter was chiefly practised at Sparta, where children were taught it at the early age of five years; and of this latter Pyrrhic it is not improbable that the Albanitico is a remnant, since we learn from Lucian that the Spartans in their dance began like wrestlers, catching fast hold of each others hands, which practice was called ἀκροχειρίσμος. It is also singular that amongst the Mainotes or Eleuthero-Lacones, as they are called, the Albanitico or military dance is still best performed and held in highest repute. In the wild

this was finished, the bridegroom with several of his guests imitated their example, with less agility, but with much more grace and elegance. Dancing is still considered by the moderns as it was by the ancient Greeks, a requisite accomplishment in the composition of a gentleman*.

When supper was announced we all sat down, except the bridegroom, whose presence was excused, at a long table plentifully supplied with poultry, game, pilau, various made-dishes, and pastry. In token of extreme civility, every person near us heaped food upon our plates, which sometimes presented such an heterogeneous mixture of fish, flesh, and fowl, that if we had been obliged to eat it this probably would have been our last meal. I observed a beautiful boy about six years old who sat next me cramming himself till he could scarcely breathe; the little urchin seemed so determined that I should follow his example that he generally put half his mess upon my plate. Mr. Parker happening to sneeze at this entertainment, he was quite electrified by the boisterous congratulatory *vivas* of the guests. This custom is very general in the south of Europe, and seems to be a remnant of a very ancient superstition†. In the mean time the guests poured down co-

songs and intensely stretched voices of these palikars during the exercise, one may perhaps recognise those ὀρθίους ῥυθμούς which Athenæus says ought to accompany the Pyrrhic. That the name of this dance at least was acknowledged as coinciding with a martial exercise in the time of the Byzantine emperors appears from a passage of Curopalatas, who says, speaking of it as an occupation of the soldiers under Romanus Diogenes, ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα τὴν Πυρρίχιον ἐκμελετηκότες ὄρχησιν. Except. app. ad Hist. Comp Cedreni, p. 839.

* By similar feats was Ulysses entertained at the Court of Alcinous, who seems to have spoken of his dancers with a regal pride.

Ἀλλ' ἄγε· Φαιήκων βητάρμονες ὅσσοι ἄριστοι
Παίσατε· ὡς χ' ὁ ξεῖνος ἐνίσπῃ ὅτισι φίλοισι,
Οἰκαδε νοστήσας, ὅσσον περιγιγνόμεθ' ἄλλων
Ναυτιλίῃ καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηθμοῖσι καὶ ἀοιδῇ· Od. θ. 250.

† The custom of "adoring the sneeze" is alluded to by many authors. Athenæus mentions it by the phrase πταρμὸς προσκυνεῖν, referring the origin of the custom to that general idea of sanctity which was attached to the head: ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζον τὴν καφαλὴν lib. ii. c. 25. Xenophon in his Expedition of Cyrus (lib. iii.) relates the curious effect which an accidental sneeze had upon the whole Grecian army, who all with one accord adored it as a deity—μιᾷ ὁρμῇ ὡς θέον. By many however the sneeze was considered rather in the light of a disease, or at least as the indication of one, and thence arose the ancient form of civility from the bystanders in the words ΖΕΥ ΖΩΣΟΝ, from which the Italian Viva is derived, and the English expression of "God bless you."

pious draughts of wine, toasting the bride and bridegroom, the English Milordi, Signore Alessio, and others: and now it was that I fancied I could discover the meaning of old Anacreon in some of his Bacchanalian expressions from the manner in which these Grecian topers drank, (ἀμυστὶ) many of whom filled two and others even three goblets with wine*; then taking up one with the right hand they applied it to their lips pouring the contents of the other two into it with the left, and never moving the cup from the mouth till the whole of the liquor was dispatched: these triplets were received by the rest of the company with unbounded applause. Possibly the celebrated Thracian Amystis may have been a similar trial of Bacchanalian skill, and not a goblet, as it is generally rendered.

Neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threicia vincat AMYSTIDE.

The feast was kept up with great merriment and noise till Signore Melas came in to pay us the highest compliment in his power, by introducing us into the gynæconitis, where the ladies were assembled.

* A great distinction between the ancient and the modern topers of Greece seems to be, that the latter never mingle water with their wine, though the former observed this custom as a very general rule:

Οι μὲν ἄρ οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι καὶ ὕδωρ·

They even worshipped the Acrotopotes or pure-wine-drinker as a being so superior in strength of head as to be worthy of divine honours (Athenæi, lib. ii. p. 39): they classed their wines into two sorts, the ὀλιγοφόροι and πολυφόροι, according to the proportion of water they would bear. Plutarch mentions three different mixtures in use amongst wine-drinkers: 1st. Three parts of water to two of wine: 2d. Two of water to one of wine: and 3d. Three of water to one of wine (Symp. l. iii. Q. 9). Athenæus however reports that there was another mixture in vogue amongst the determined votaries of Bacchus; this was the πέντε-καὶ-δύω or five parts of wine to two of water. Some wines are reported to have been so strong as to admit of twenty parts of water to one of wine! Vid. Od. ι. 209, and Hippocrat. lib. ii. de Morb. in fin. The ancients tempered their wines with cold or warm water, according to the season of the year or the state of their stomachs; but that custom which sounds the most extraordinary to a modern ear, is the mixture of sea-water with the wine, the οἶνον θαλασσόμενον, as it is called by Hippocrates. I used to have my doubts about the passage of Horace respecting the Chium maris expers, and was inclined to agree with those commentators who considered it as home-brewed, until I found the custom most explicitly mentioned by Athenæus (lib. i. c. 19), who says that under it the allegory of Bacchus flying to the sea is veiled: ἡδὺν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν οἶνον, παρεγχεομένης θαλάσσης· Certainly this mixture could not be more revolting or nauseous than the *vino resinato* of the moderns, which becomes palatable by habit. It is curious that the Romaic name for wine is κρασὶ, which, like the word crater, is derived from the ancient custom of mixing water with it.

In passing through the gallery or portico we observed a great quantity of rich bed-furniture, consisting of purple velvet embroidered with gold, which is always sent with the bride and displayed for public admiration upon these occasions. We had heard that Ioannina was celebrated for the beauty and fine complexion of its females; and certainly we were not disappointed when we entered into the apartment where a party of the most charming women in this capital were collected together. They sat in a large circle round the room, superbly attired; but the liquid lustre of their eyes put to shame the jewels that sparkled in their raven tresses. The reflection came forcibly across the mind, what brutes the men must be who could desert the society of such master-pieces of excelling nature, to indulge in the low gratifications of riotous intemperance! By the smiles and whispers that went round the circle, we soon perceived that our appearance excited much curiosity, and that our persons and every article of our dress became subjected to the minutest scrutiny. We were seated on each side the little bride, who was scarcely twelve years of age, and was comparatively so girlish that it required a great stretch of imagination to consider her in the character of a matron. She was magnificently dressed, the value of the jewels with which she was adorned being estimated at about 2000*l.*; an ancient family appendage (that παλαιὸν κτῆμα of the Greek tragedians) in the shape of an old nurse, stood near her, and this Argus was actively employed in guarding her charge and repelling the advances of Signore Melas, who was anxious to impress the marks of his affection upon the lips of his betrothed. One of the Albanian guards having brought in coffee, the young lady arose and with a very pretty air handed it to Mr. Parker and myself, who were obliged to suffer this inversion of the right order of things and accommodate ourselves to the custom of the place. We observed that her manners and deportment were accompanied with a great share of mildness and affability; but her features had not sufficiently expanded to judge of their expression: it appeared to us that her countenance might become in-

Drawn by GE. Cockerell Esq.

J. Smith Sc. Clementston Strand.

MISTRESS OF A GREEK FAMILY SEATED ON THE DIVAN OF THE GYNÆCEUM

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teresting but by no means handsome. She was a daughter of the chief primate of Ioannina, and her dowry was said to be very considerable. After remaining about an hour in the Gynæconitis we took our leave; but in quitting the room we remarked a number of faces peeping out of an opposite latticed window, and found that a large party of young unmarried girls had been keeping the feast in a different apartment, separated both from men and women. The band of music accompanied us back to our lodging, where we arrived about midnight.

The scene we had witnessed naturally gave rise to some reflections upon the degraded state of that sex whose influence has, in general, so great an effect upon society. This degradation in Greece is owing principally to a want of education amongst the females, and an early seclusion from that society which they are intended to ameliorate and adorn: but indeed if the first of these evils were removed, the second would soon vanish—for when good principles and a sense of moral duties are early instilled into the mind, there is no need of seclusion or confinement. Women who know their duties are full as apt to practise them as men, and possessed as they are of a greater share of sensibility, are much more easily led to cultivate the mild and social virtues. Of all the countries which we visited, I saw none where this false system of treatment was more to be regretted than in Greece. To judge from the countenances of the Grecian females, they exhibit a vivacity and brilliancy of expression that denotes a high degree of sentiment and genius: they appear also naturally to possess affectionate and kind dispositions, without any tendency to that spirit of profligacy which characterizes the sex in many countries of the South. But what can be expected from the system that is pursued? As soon as a girl approaches the age of puberty, she is more studiously shut up from public sight than a catholic nun. In the interior of the Gynekaios she is confined, but taught nothing beyond the art of embroidery or a few other such frivolous accomplishments, and, if her nurse or mother should be able to read, is instructed in the science of

relics, the history of miracle-mongers, and other absurdities which superstition has engrafted upon religion. As soon as she arrives at a marriageable age, she is affianced by her family, as a matter of convenience or sordid contract, and may be reckoned lucky if she find a parity of age in her partner for life. Very rarely indeed is the hymeneal torch lighted here at the altar of love: all preliminaries are carried on by the intervention of a third party; no opportunity is given to a young couple of studying each other's disposition, and acquiring that knowledge of each other's character which is so essential to connubial happiness; there is nothing to excite those tender anxieties and delicate attentions which interest and refine the soul: the inclinations of the parties most intimately concerned are not thought of; the suitor expects nothing from his bride but a silent acquiescence in the will of others, and the girl herself, anxious for liberty, gives her consent without consulting or even knowing the inclinations of her heart. Very curious surprises sometimes take place, when the bridegroom goes to fetch his affianced spouse. The beautiful infant turns out a picture of deformity; or the plain child is transformed into an angelic woman.

Nothing can exceed the anxiety of parents and friends in this country to contract a marriage for their girls*. The brothers in a family make it an invariable rule, never to marry until their sisters are disposed of; the truth of which was frequently confirmed to me by most respectable authority. The strongest instance I ever met with of this zeal was in a poor decayed tradesman of Ioannina, whom the

* Thus it was with the ancient Greeks: nothing seems to have been deprecated among them so much as for a female to remain unmarried.

Ἀνύμφευτος ἀιὲν ὀιχνῶ
δάκρυσι μυδαλεα·

Says the wretched Electra in Euripides; and so also the Antigone of Sophocles,

Οὐθ' ὑμεναίων
ἔγκληρον, ὅτ' ἐπινυμφίδιός
πω μέ τις ὕμνος
ὕμνησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω.

exactions of the vizir, and failures in commercial speculations, had reduced to the last stage of poverty: his still venerable, though melancholy appearance, so strongly excited our compassion in his behalf, that we contributed a sum of money for his relief, which might possibly, with good management and good fortune, have enabled him to regain a tolerable livelihood; but he chose rather to give it all as a dowry with his eldest daughter, a very beautiful girl, to a young Greek, who, according to custom, refused to marry her without one.

If the system pursued with regard to females in Greece were found efficient in preserving the morals uncorrupted, and the inclinations steady on the side of virtue, something might be said in its favour: but I am afraid that ignorance and seclusion are quite as bad safeguards of innocence as freedom and cultivation: there will be this difference indeed, that in one case vice will exist divested of all refinement, and immorality exhibit itself in the grossest form: the mind too, unable to enjoy intellectual pleasures, will yield more easily to the seductive influence of the passions. One of the few Greeks whom I found aware of this injurious tendency, was Signore Melas, the very person whose marriage gave rise to the foregoing observations. A more frequent intercourse having subsequently made me better acquainted with this intelligent young man, I discovered that the real motive of his marriage with such a youthful bride, was a wish to release her from the fetters of prejudice, that he might place her under the care of his own mother, cultivate her talents, study her temper, direct the rising energies of her mind, make the first years of matrimony only the latter end of courtship, and thus qualify his wife to become his companion and his friend. These enlightened views of Signore Melas may in great measure be attributed to that intercourse with society to which his continental travels had introduced him.

It is a curious fact that the ancient Greeks, like the moderns, were guilty of similar errors in the education of their women: they seem to have been quite careless of all qualities and endowments in a wife,

except modesty and domestic management*. Those women amongst them who are noted for talent, and conspicuous in the list of fame, are for the most part of that class who acquired cultivation at the expence of virtue: they were a superior kind of courtesans, forming a middle rank between the prostitute and the wife, and designated by the title of Ἑταίραι, or female companions: these women, knowing that to gain universal admiration they must also acquire the polish of education and accomplishment, boldly threw off restraint, and associated freely with the men, studied their tastes, infused life into their convivial entertainments, and splendour into their establishments: hence they became not only mistresses to the young and dissipated, but the instructresses of statesmen, and the companions of philosophers.

Such examples are sometimes met with amongst the modern Greeks, though the difficulties in the way of emancipation and the cultivation of talent are now much greater than they were formerly. The tragic story of the unfortunate Phrosini is already known to the English reader; but many circumstances connected with it have been so inaccurately detailed that I shall here venture upon its repetition. This young beauty was highly celebrated in Ioannina, not more for the attractive graces of her person, than for that elegance of manners and vivacity of wit, which made her the life and soul of society with which she freely mixed. I have heard the gravest personages dwell with rapture upon the remembrance of her talents, and the pleasure of her conversation. With this accomplished female, Mouchtar Pasha the vizir's eldest son, had formed an intimate connexion. The

* The following speech of Telemachus to his mother, the prudent Penelope, puts this in a strong point of view.

Ἀλλ' ἐς δικον ἴσσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
Ἰστὸν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισε κέλευε
Ἔργον ἐπύιχεσθαι. μῦθος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει, &c.
Od. α. 356.

estrangement which thence ensued between him and his wife excited the most violent jealousy in the mind of that imperious woman, who also interested her sister, the wife of Vely Pasha, in her cause. Some time elapsed before they could gain any proof against the object of their hatred, but at last an opportunity occurred which they eagerly seized. A jeweller one day brought to Mouchtar's wife a brilliant ring of great value, which she recognised as a wedding present made to her faithless spouse, and which she found, on questioning the jeweller, had been left with him for sale by her beautiful rival. Having gained possession of the ornament, she sent instantly for her sister, who proceeded with her to the palace of the vizir: admitted into his presence, they raised a terrible outcry and demanded redress for the contempt thus brought upon them by the machinations of Phrosini. Ali, who at this time preserved his influence in Upper Albania by means of his daughters-in-law, and had actually contrived through their aid to cheat poor Ibrahim Pasha, their father, out of some very important territory, felt unwilling to displease them: and therefore, raising them from the ground, he swore by the beard of Mahomet that their just desires of revenge should be indulged: it is also confidently reported that he had at this time a criminal intrigue with the wife of Vely, and that he could refuse nothing to her solicitations.

Trusting none of his officers with the execution of his commands, lest they might either give alarm to Mouchtar Pasha, or become the objects of his future resentment, he went himself at the dead of night, attended by his body-guard, to the house of the unsuspecting victim. Having gained admittance, and procured a lamp, he proceeded at once into her chamber, awoke her from sleep, and holding out the ring in his hand, inquired if she recognised it. The unfortunate creature immediately read her fate in the stern countenance of the tyrant, deceit was useless, and she confessed the fact. In a severe tone of voice he then ordered her to arise, put on her clothes and follow him. At the folding doors of the court he delivered her into the custody of the patrole, permitting one favourite maid alone to attend her mistress.

They were conducted to a Greek church on the borders of the lake near the gardens of the Kiosk, and presently afterwards about twenty frail women of the lower ranks were conveyed to the same place of confinement. There they all passed the night in prayer, expecting every moment to be their last. The next day however came to a close without the fatal order being given. The despot himself seemed struck with remorse, and hesitated before he could sign the sentence of death: he has even declared since, that he waited only for proper intercession to spare their lives. One man indeed, a poor Greek, did present himself before him to beg the life of his guilty spouse, who was one of the unfortunates locked up with Phrosini. The vizir laughing aloud, asked him if he were content to live in wedlock with a whore? and on the man's replying in the affirmative, he gave an order for her release. The execution of the rest took place at night: they were taken in a barge from the church to some distance on the lake, tied up in sacks, and precipitated into the deep: Phrosini and her faithful maid, watching an opportunity, before the guards could prevent them, clasped each other in their arms and plunged into the water to rise no more.

Drowning is the general punishment for incontinency inflicted by the Mahometan rulers upon their female subjects both Turkish and Greek: but if one of their own women should be caught intriguing with a Christian, such an insult upon the faith is not to be expiated but by the severest retribution, and the most public example. The following scene is copied from Mr. Jones's MS. Journal, having occurred during his residence in Ioannina.

"The day on which I took my leave of Ali Pasha for the north of Albania, a Turkish girl, of extraordinary beauty, was stoned to death. As my two friends and myself were proceeding to the palace, we heard a person proclaiming something in the Turkish language, and on inquiring of our interpreter, we found it was an order

for 'every true believer in the faith of Mahomet' to go and throw a stone at this poor girl. Her crime was that of intriguing with a Christian (a Neapolitan in the vizir's service) for which the laws of Turkey subjected her to this horrible punishment.

"The interviews between herself and her lover had been facilitated by a Jew; but this worthy descendant of Iscariot was the first person to betray them. He supped at the Neapolitan's table on the fatal evening, and he had scarcely retired from it half an hour before his information caused them to be arrested by the Turkish guard. The following morning, Gelisem (this was the unfortunate girl's name) was condemned to die. Soon after sentence was passed, her face was uncovered and exposed to the public gaze, which is the greatest indignity that can be offered to a Turkish female. She was then conducted, amidst the groans and curses of the Mahometans, to a plain at a short distance from the town. She had no sooner reached the fatal spot than she was partly stripped, and her long black tresses loosened about her neck and shoulders. One would suppose that her appearance at this moment might have disarmed even Turks of their vengeance. But no! she was obliged to descend into a hole dug for the purpose, when these barbarians began to pelt her with stones, uttering at the same time a volley of groans and curses. She was tortured in this manner for nearly a quarter of an hour, the pebbles being inconsiderable in size and striking her mostly about the neck and shoulders. At length an Albanian soldier, who had probably more humanity than the rest, took up a large stone, and, throwing it upon her head, put an end to her misery. She was then left buried under the mass.

"The fate of the Neapolitan can be considered as little less severe. After having been permitted to remain at Ioannina long enough to witness the cruelties exercised upon his mistress, he was himself sent in charge of an Albanian escort to the town of Argyro-Castro, in the interior of Albania, where the plague was violently raging, and where two-thirds of the inhabitants had already fallen victims to its fury.

"What rendered the fate of these unfortunate persons more melancholy was, that the girl, who was but nineteen years old, was in a state of pregnancy, and the Neapolitan wished to marry her; but this could not be permitted, according to the laws of the country. I was informed, however, at Ioannina, that he might have saved her life as well as his own by renouncing his religion. The girl too, had means of escaping the punishment of death; but she afforded a singular instance of female heroism as well as of that extraordinary attachment which all the Turks bear to the religion of Mahomet. When she arrived at the fatal hole dug in the ground, she was desired by the priest to leap into it, '*if a true believer in Mahomet:—if not, to leap over it.*' She took the former resolution, though the consequence of her not doing so would have been the preservation of her life. She would indeed have been degraded, scouted, and spit upon by the Turks; but her life would have been spared.

"Of course, we had no wish to be spectators of this horrible scene; nor should we have been permitted if we had had that wish, so enraged were the Mahometans against the Christians, or, as they are pleased to term them, 'the Infidels.' Indeed it was said at the time (and considering the source from whence I received the information, I have reason to believe it true) that a dervish went to the vizir next day, and represented to him the necessity of sacrificing thirty Christian heads, in order to save the girl's soul; but the vizir had him turned immediately out of the room. Had this measure been adopted, my head might possibly have counted one.

"We walked through the streets on this day as usual; but we were afterwards told that we had acted imprudently in doing so. There are certainly many parts of Turkey where we might have been exposed to the fury of the Mahometans. But considering the high authority of Ali Pasha at Ioannina, as well as his extreme care not only to protect but even to please the English, I believe we incurred very little danger on this occasion."

Thus it is these barbarians treat that weak and gentle sex, whom they themselves drive into error, instead of endeavouring to retain them within the path of virtue: not only do they totally neglect their education and improvement, but by their polygamical institution, that gross violation of Nature's law* and the social compact, they destroy at once all those tender affections which are the strongest inducements to chastity and virtue. The emancipation of females from tyrannical prejudices will be slow but certain among the Greeks, and they will ultimately attain the proper station to which they are entitled; but with the Turks the case is very different, and almost hopeless: there amelioration is opposed by the detestable principles of religion, if indeed it can be called a religion, which teaches that women are born but for the gratification of man and the propagation of the species, which turns them into slaves, and perpetuates the degrading inferiority by denying them participation even in the public worship of their Creator.

The marriage ceremony among the Mahometans is extremely simple, being merely a civil contract signed and witnessed before the cadi. The Greek rites are numerous and absurd in the highest possible degree; they have been so often described that a repetition is unnecessary, but as an Albanian wedding may possibly be new to the reader, I shall finish this chapter with the description of one which I received from a friend who was present at the ceremony.

"The bridegroom goes on horseback to the dwelling of the bride: he is there presented with an immense loaf, which he breaks into pieces and throws to the spectators at the door, who are all very eager to procure a piece. When he enters he is invited by the parents to sit down to eat and drink, a ceremony which is generally most voraciously com-

* Polygamy must be considered as an infringement of the law of Nature from the general equality of males and females born into the world, in all places, and in all climates: the preponderance indeed, though small, is said to be on the side of the males, which seems a wise and providential regulation to counterbalance the dangers and accidents to which this sex is so much more exposed than the other.

plied with. The mother kisses the bridegroom, and ties round his neck a handkerchief, a present from his fair one and sometimes embroidered by her hands. The duty of the priest is generally performed in the house or garden, it not being at all necessary that it should take place in the church. They then mount on horseback, the bridegroom first dressed in his best apparel, and carefully wrapped in cloaks, looking very downcast, and supported by his friends, as if he were unable to endure so awful a ceremony: the bride is veiled, but loaded with finery, which is either her own, or borrowed for the occasion: at some distance from the house they are met by their friends and the young girls of the neighbourhood, who dance before them to music, which is accompanied by the voices of the party: this is by far the most interesting part of the ceremony. On arriving at the house, the father of the bride receives her in his arms at the door, and while she is apparently forced to enter, throws a pomegranate against the wall as an omen of fertility; the mother of the bridegroom presents her with honey, corn and oil, and winding a shawl round them both, she, together with the relations, drag them into the apartment, the bride affecting great reluctance and resistance. She is there unveiled, and is obliged to stand with downcast eyes, like a statue, against the wall. She is then saluted by the relations and friends, and is ready to receive any little presents which they may be generous enough to offer. After this they sit down to a feast, prepared according to the means of the family, all except the bride, who frequently remains standing many hours whilst the company eat, and bows with great complaisance to every one that drinks her health."

CHAPTER III.

Shooting Excursion with Mouchtar Pasha upon the Lake—Dinner on the Island—Invitation to a grand Entertainment by the Vizir—Description of it—Visits from the chief Greeks of Ioannina—Signore Alessio, the Governor of Zagori—Visit of Ceremony to the Vizir—His Skill in Geography—Shooting on the Lake—Thalassopuli—Police of Ioannina—Review of Albanian Troops by the Vizir—Our general Manner of Living—Manners and Customs of the Greeks—Marriage Procession of one of Ali Pasha's Concubines—Ali's Harem—His Court and Officers.

THE day after Signore Melas's marriage feast, we received an invitation at about nine o'clock A. M. to accompany Mouchtar Pasha in a grand shooting excursion upon the lake. We lost no time in preparing our fowling pieces, and descended to the quay accompanied by Signore Nicolo and his brother Giovanni, where we found two caiques waiting for us by the Pasha's orders: all the others belonging to Ioannina, amounting to more than 100, were engaged for the sport. We observed them already moving towards the southern extremity of the lake like a Lilliputian fleet, and our boatmen redoubling their efforts, we soon overtook them. Each caique, besides the rower, contained one or more sportsmen, with as many guns as they could collect. For a considerable distance the squadron moved forward in a strait line, driving before it myriads of wild fowl of every species, until at length the boats at the extremities shot a-head, and formed a curvilinear line, enclosing a large space of water. As this circle narrowed itself, the birds confined within began to rise in dark masses

like clouds, and to fly over our heads. Then the firing commenced from one extremity of the line to the other, and continued about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour, until the surface of the water was literally strewed with wild-fowl. We were stationed near the centre of this circle, close to the Pasha, who had about twenty guns in his boat, with one of his Albanians to load them as quick as they were discharged. He is an excellent shot, and very rarely missed his bird; it is said that he can shoot a hare when he is on horseback at full gallop, but this feat we never witnessed: if practice however can make perfect, he ought to be the best marksman in Albania. Some of his guns were of a great length, and he was so surprised at seeing me bring down a bird at a long shot with a very short fowling piece, that he requested me to send it for his inspection into the caique. After the sportsmen had picked up their game, the squadron was again set in motion, to pursue the wild fowl who had retreated to a different part of the lake: the scene was exceedingly beautiful, for the sun shone brilliantly, and the snow-capt mountains, with the convents villages and cypress groves upon the banks, were finely reflected in the transparent water: the firing from the boats had the effect of a naval engagement in miniature, the echoes of the musketry being increased and prolonged amidst the folds of the surrounding hills: hundreds of eagles and vultures flying around the shores of the lake, flapping their enormous wings, and screaming as it were with delight in the prospect of their prey, added much to the grandeur of the scene. After we had been thus engaged about four hours, the vizir himself made his appearance in his state barge, but did not join in the sport; soon afterwards the wind began to rise, and occasioned rather a heavy swell; the signal was then given for dispersion, and the caiques all hastened with their loads towards the city. Mouchtar however had prepared a dinner at the house of one of his retainers on the island, of which he invited us to partake: accordingly we landed at the village, and found very excellent fare provided in a house remarkable for its extreme neat-

ness and cleanliness. We were placed on each side the Pasha at the corner of the divan, whilst two Albanian officers and Signore Nicolo, who was honoured with an invitation, knelt upon the floor, to bring their mouths on a level with the little round table, or tin tray, upon which the provisions were laid. My friend and myself alone had plates, and we all helped ourselves without reserve by means of our fingers from the same dish, except that now and then the Pasha and his guests, for the sake of compliment, dabbed a few handfuls of a mess upon our plates. A young Albanian Ganymede, with flowing hair and embroidered apparel, stood behind Mouchtar, with a pitcher of wine and goblet, from which he helped his master and the rest of the party: our fare was pilau, excellent ragouts, fish boiled and fried, fowls and pastry, to the number of about thirty dishes. Soon after we had dispatched our meal, we left the pasha to the enjoyment of his siesta and strolled about the village; whose neat comfortable mansions and clean streets, as well as the orderly behaviour and industrious habits of the people, put to shame all other places which we visited in this country. Passing by a decent church we came into a pretty square, where we observed several stone seats, in which the old men of the village sit basking in the evening sun, after their daily labours, and witness the sports and enjoyments of the youth*. I never observed a greater appearance of contentment and happiness than among this people; it is so favourite a place of resort to Mouchtar, and so useful to him in the pursuit of his sport, that he governs it not only with mildness, but with great partiality. From the village we wandered over the island, delighted with the fine prospects which its eminences afford, and on returning to the house took coffee and smoked several pipes with the pasha before we separated. As the night was fine and clear, Mouchtar, who is insatiable in all amusements, ordered his

* Upon mentioning this circumstance to a learned friend, he suggested that it was a good commentary upon a passage of the Medea:

Πεσσὰς προσελθὼν ἔνθα δὴ παλαίτατοι
Θάσσεσι σεμνὸν ἀμφὶ Πειρήνης ὕδωρ.

caique to row towards the upper lake, where he intended to spend some hours in shooting: we bent our course towards the city, listening to the songs of the Albanian boatmen, and viewing the reflection of the lights from the castron in the rippling surface of the water. For several days after this excursion we were nearly confined to the house by continual rain, though the time was in some measure lightened by the society of Mr. Foresti and Mr. Pouqueville, and by occasional visits from the friends and connexions of our host.

February 10th.—On this day we received a compliment which we little expected, and for which we were indebted to the kind intercession of Mr. Foresti: it was an invitation from Ali Pasha to accompany him to a splendid feast given at the house of Signore Alessio and to dine at his own table: to this honour he had never before admitted any foreigner, of the highest distinction, except the present Lord Guilford: even Sir John Stuart, and General Airey, governor of the Ionian Isles, though invited to a dinner, were seated at different tables apart from the vizir. We received intimation of the honour awaiting us just after we had finished our own dinner, but we willingly took the chance of death by a surfeit, for the satisfaction of dining with Ali Pasha. We had scarcely time to array ourselves in our best apparel before one of the chaoushes was at the door to precede us through the streets, and we set out accompanied by our host.

All the approaches to Signore Alessio's mansion, as well as the court and galleries, were crowded with Albanian guards and others in the pasha's train. The rooms were brilliantly lighted up, and the clang of cymbals, drums, and Turkish instruments of music, denoted the presence of a potentate. We stopped for a short time in a large ante-room, where the vizir's band was playing to a troop of dancing boys, dressed in the most effeminate manner, with flowing petticoats of crimson silk, and silver-clasped zones around the waist: they were revolving in one giddy and interminable circle, twisting their pliant bodies into the most contorted figures, and using the most lascivious gestures, throwing about their arms and heads like infuriated Baccha-

nals, and sometimes bending back their bodies till their long hair actually swept the ground, illustrating thereby a distich of Claudian which has not unfrequently been misunderstood by his commentators.

> Quis melius vibrata puer vertigine molli
> Membra rotet? verrat quis marmora crine supino?
> In Eutrop. ii. 359.

Another Latin poet describes these dances so accurately, that I cannot forbear quoting the lines.

> Juvat et vago rotatu
> Dare fracta membra ludo,
> Simulare vel trementes
> Pede, veste, voce Bacchas.

As we entered into the banqueting room we observed the vizir seated as usual, at a corner of the divan, upon cushions of rich silk. Next to him sate a Turkish nobleman, named Mazout Effendi, one of the most venerable men I ever beheld, with a long white beard hanging over his breast, that exceeded even the vizir's by at least six inches: this old gentleman lived at Constantinople, but generally came to spend a few months in the year with Ali, being a vast favourite on account of his convivial propensities. Below Mazout sate the Archbishop of Ioannina, with the two epitropi or Greek primates; so that the whole party, with ourselves, made up seven, the exact number of the Platonic symposium. 'Signore Alessio, the owner of the mansion, coming out from the midst of a crowd of Greeks who stood at the lower end of the divan, advanced with us towards the pasha, who received us with every mark of civility, and motioned us to sit down upon the sofa at his right hand. He then ordered Signore Psalida to act as interpreter, who came up with a face decked in smiles and reverently kissed the hem of his master's garment, in token of submission to his commands. Ali was evidently in extreme good humour,

and dealt out his jokes and sallies of wit profusely, which of course had the effect of producing peals of laughter. At last, turning to myself, and stroking his long white beard, he asked if the people in England wore beards. I replied, only the Jews; at which he seemed as if he scarcely knew whether to smile or frown. Old Mazout in the mean time preserved the most dignified silence and demeanour, nor did his impenetrable countenance once relax into a smile*. I scarcely thought it was in the power of Bacchus himself to turn this venerable Polysperchon† into such a merry rogue and very buffoon as he afterwards exhibited himself. In fact, we learned that the striking contrast between his extreme gravity when sober and his boisterous vivacity when half seas over, renders him so great a favourite with the vizir that he never goes to an entertainment without him whilst he resides in Ioannina.

After the lapse of about half an hour the lady of the house came forward with a silver pitcher and ewer, and a finely embroidered napkin thrown over her arm: having advanced to the vizir and made her obeisance she poured out warm water into the basin, with which he washed his hands, turning up his loose sleeves for this purpose, and washing half way up to the elbow‡: after he had finished his ablution, the water was brought to us and the other guests: this custom certainly seems requisite in a country where the modern use of knives and forks is entirely precluded by a partiality for the fingers. The vizir now motioned us to draw round a circular tin-tray which had been scraped bright for the ceremony (ξυσὴ τραπέζα), and we accordingly ranged ourselves at his highness's right hand upon rich velvet cushions, several of

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* His appearance might be accurately designated by the words of Lucian, who is describing a philosophic character at an entertainment. Σεμνός τις ἰδεῖν καὶ θεοπρεπὴς καὶ πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐπιφαίνων τῷ προσώπῳ. Conviv. §. 7.

† Vid. Athen. Deipn. l. iv. 155.

‡ Does not this tend to confirm the interpretation which some commentators give to the word πυγμῇ in St. Mark's Gospel, c. vii. v. 3, which seems wrongly translated in our version by the expression "oft"?

which were placed one upon the other for our accommodation: on his left sat Mazoût Effendi, the rest of the space being filled by the archbishop and the primates. Rich scarfs were now thrown over our shoulders, and napkins placed before us, so embroidered with gold as to serve for no earthly purpose but that of decoration: a fine silken shawl being laid upon the vizir's knees, he courteously spread it out and extended it to Mr. Parker and myself.

Before dinner a dessert, or antecœnium, was placed upon the table, consisting of apples, dried fruits, and sweetmeats. After some of the party had nibbled an almond or swallowed a raisin, this quickly disappeared, and a tureen of thick soup was placed by the mistress of the family before the guests; into this the vizir first dipped his *wooden* spoon, and was followed by the rest of the company: next came a roasted lamb, brought in by a servant, to which all fingers round the table were immediately applied, stripping the meat from off one side till the ribs were fairly exposed to view: I ought to observe that in deference to our customs knives and forks were placed before the Englishmen, which however they thought proper to dispense with as much as possible: the lamb was followed by a brace of partridges, which the vizir took up in both his hands and placed one upon Mr. Parker's plate and the other upon my own, as a token of extreme condescension: scarcely however had they lain there a moment when they suddenly disappeared like Sancho Panza's delicacies, being snatched up by the dirty fingers of the bare-legged Albanian guards who stood around us: this however was done merely to relieve us from the trouble of carving, for when they had pulled them limb from limb, they very carefully and respectfully replaced them upon our plates; and in this manner was every fowl, or duck, or any other species of poultry served which the courtesy of the vizir and of the other guests induced them to offer us: and indeed these marks of civility were showered down so thick upon us that I was quite surprised how we survived this day's cramming, especially when it is considered that we

had eaten our regular dinner before we came to the feast, and that etiquette in this country demands that the guests should at least taste all the dishes set before them.

No liquor was drank at this entertainment but wine, which several beautiful youths from the vizir's seraglio stood to pour out from pitchers into glass goblets. Two pages would scarcely be sufficient to describe the different viands which were placed upon the table singly and separately, and upon which the first-rate culinary science in Turkey seemed to have been lavished; some of the ragouts and piquant sauces would not have disgraced the civic table of a lord-mayor: the most insipid article was the pastry, which was nothing more than cakes of meal, honey, and pistachio nuts. We had to run the gauntlet for about two hours through eighty-six dishes, all placed singly before the guests in a varied succession of roast and boiled meats, fish, stews, pastry, game, and wild-fowl, &c. until the dessert again appeared. In the mean time the Ganymedes had not been idle with their pitchers and goblets, and Signore Alessio, the οἰνόπτης of the feast, supplied them with his best quadrimum. Old Mazout had once or twice during dinner shewn symptoms of the Bacchic fury rising within him, by throwing open a sash window behind the divan, and joining in chorus with the Albanian band that was playing and singing in the anteroom. The vizir however now ordered him to be plied with larger and more frequent goblets; and, as he is very fond upon these occasions of seeing every one around him inebriated, he commanded the crowd of Greeks to advance from the lower end of the room and to drink like fishes. As for himself he took only a moderate portion of wine, and very considerately requested Mr. Parker and myself to follow his example.

The fumes of the wine began at length to operate so strongly upon old Mazout that his tongue seemed resolved to make amends for the silence to which it had previously been doomed: he sang droll songs in the Turkish language, exerted his lungs in the most violent shouts,

rolled about upon the divan, and throwing off his turban exhibited his bare head to view, whilst the spectators, and especially the vizir, were convulsed with laughter. Soon afterwards he called the dancing boys into the room, and snatching a tambourine from the hands of their leader, jumped and capered about, beating the instrument like an ancient Silenus: he then endeavoured to catch the boy, who eluded his grasp with the pliability of an eel, whilst the old fellow, failing in many of his attempts, fell flat upon the ground to the no small merriment of the by-standers. In the midst of this interlude however Mazout several times ran up to Ali, caught him with his arms round the neck, and almost suffocated him with embraces, kissing him on the forehead and bosom, and addressing him with expressions of the most fond attachment: from the vizir he ran off again to the dancing boys, and at last seizing their coryphæus, he nearly stifled him with caresses; then dragging him up to the divan, he coaxed Ali to give him a handful of small gold coins, which he wetted with his spittle and stuck like spangles over the boy's face, who struggled very hard to get free, that he might pocket the affront.

When the dancers had quitted the room the toasts began to circulate with great rapidity, all of which were drank in full bumpers. Ali gave the health of the Prince Regent, and the Royal Family of Great Britain; in return for which we drank to the prosperity of his house and dynasty, and to the immortal memory of Pyrrhus, his heroic *ancestor*. At length I proposed a toast by way of experiment, to see the effect which it would produce: this was—health and prosperity to Salee Bey—the vizir's youngest and favourite son, who, as it is strongly conjectured, is designed for his successor. This proposal was received with evident satisfaction by the vizir, and by the most rapturous applause from all the company; Ali took a full bumper, old Mazout three, and the archbishop, who had for some time fought shy, demanded two; Psalida reiterated his shouts with Stentorian lungs; Signore Alessio ordered a fresh barrel to be tapped, that all

might do justice to the toast, and the Greeks encircling the vizir and kissing the hem of his robes, tossed off glass after glass till he desired them to forbear. This toast, by-the-bye, was proposed and drank twice again during the evening, but no one thought of giving the health, either of Mouchtar or Vely Pasha. Soon after this ebullition, the archbishop prudently decamped, and Psalida, who had for some time been guilty of clipping the vizir's Greek, being led off the field hors de combat, our host Nicolo occupied his place as interpreter of tongues.

During a short interval of quiet, I took the opportunity of asking Ali whether there was any truth in the report that he intended Salee Bey to enjoy the advantages of foreign travel by visiting the different European courts: to this he answered, that the plan had been strongly recommended to him, and that he had taken it into serious consideration, but it was so contrary to the custom of his countrymen that he felt obliged to decline it. He asked how we liked Ioannina, and whether our host conducted himself well towards us: upon our answering that he was a good fellow (καλὸς ἄνθρωπος), he shook his head and said—"His father was." He then desired us, in his usual hyperbolical style, to consider all his possessions as our own, and commanding silence in the room, he declared in a loud tone, that he should consider no man his friend who did not shew us civility and attention. Some time before this speech was ended old Mazout began to be very impatient, and at length commenced a humorous song, which alas! he was unable to finish, for unfortunately overbalancing himself in one of his outrageous attitudes, he fell off the sofa and rolled under the table: whilst he lay there, the Greeks seeing how the vizir was inclined, seemed to forget that awe which the presence of an autocrat, upon whose breath their very lives depended, might inspire, and began to play all sorts of practical jokes upon each other, tripping up heels, knocking off calpacs, and exploding detonating balls close to the ear: the noise and confusion thus occasioned roused old Mazout Effendi from his trance; for, starting up in a species of delirium, he thrust his hand and arm through the sash win-

dow behind him: the joke seemed to be relished; Signore Alessio thrust his arm through another pane, and Mazout immediately broke in the whole sash with his hands and feet: all the Greeks now fell to, and in like manner demolished every window in the apartment, amidst the loud laughter of Ali, and the Bacchanalian triumph of the Effendi, who ran to caress the vizir after every feat which he performed.

When this work of destruction was finished Ali gave the signal for breaking up the party, and silence immediately succeeded to the yells which a few minutes before would have astounded an Indian war-tribe. The Greeks now retired to the bottom of the room, the pitcher and ewer with warm water were again introduced, and the customary ablutions performed: then several guards entered and preceded the vizir with long wax tapers to the head of the staircase, where he stopped a few minutes, asked for his English friends, and took a very courteous leave of us. At the outer door, in the area, stood several hundreds of his Albanian retinue with a fine Arabian charger richly caparisoned: vaulting into his saddle he set off in a gallop towards the serai of Litaritza, followed by his motley crew, shouting, waving their torches, and running at full speed to keep up with their chief. Mr. Parker and myself walked silently home, listening to the retreating uproar as it lessened on the ear, and when we arrived at Signore Nicolo's mansion we stared at each other and asked mutually whether it was not all a dream*?

* I subjoin to this account one out of many passages in the Odyssey which mark a strong similarity between ancient and modern customs at convivial entertainments:

Χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
Καλῇ χρυσείῃ, ὑπὲρ αργυρέοιο λέβητος,
Νίψασθαι· παρὰ δὲ ξεστὴν ἐτάνυσσε τράπεζαν·
Σῖτον δ' αἰδοίη ταμίη παρέθηκε φέρουσα,
Εἴδατα πόλλ' ἐπιθεῖσα, χαριζομένη παρεόντων.
Δαιτρὸς δὲ κρειῶν πίνακας παρέθηκεν ἀείρας
Παντοίων, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει χρυσεια κύπελλα.
Κήρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσι θάμ' ἐπῴχετο οἰνοχοεύων.
Ἐς δ' ἦλθον μνηστῆρες ἀγήνορες· οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
Ἑξείης ἕζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε·
Τοῖσι δὲ κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν,

Next day I believe the sun had not run through half his course ere it was known to every person of note in Ioannina that the two English milordi had dined with the vizir: in consequence our room for several successive mornings was crowded with visitors, and from this time we enjoyed the most free and uninterrupted intercourse with the society of the place. Amongst the earliest arrivals was our late host Signore Alessio, who was evidently considered first amongst the Greeks of Ioannina, and stood highest in the despot's favour: this favour however he was obliged to retain by great sacrifices: it was but a short time since he had presented him with a complete service of plate, executed in the most superb style at Vienna; and yesterday very magnificent gifts were sent to the inmates of his harem, as is customary when he honours one of his subjects with his company at dinner. Alessio's father had been the principal instrument in gaining the Pashalic of Ioannina for its present ruler: in remembrance of which service he had made the son governor of Zagori, one of the four districts into which the province is divided. It lies north-east of the city on the other side of Mitzikeli, extending up towards Konitza and Grevna, and including forty-eight towns and villages, over which Alessio has almost sovereign sway, and from which he draws a princely revenue. At Ioannina his levees are attended by the principal inhabitants, and his society is as much courted as if he were a pasha himself. I have often seen him mounted upon a richly caparisoned white charger, taking his morning ride, followed by young men of the first Greek families in his train. Many persons however augur no good from this ostentation, knowing the capricious disposition of Ali, as well as that crafty policy of his

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Σῖτον δὲ δμωὰι παρενήνεον ἐν κανέοισιν·
Οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.
Κῆροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο·
Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο
Μνηστῆρες, τοῖσιν μὲν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μεμήλει,
Μολπή τ' ὀρχηστύς τε· (τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός·)

Od. A. 136.

which leads him sometimes to strike down the towering eagle that the smaller birds may be kept in awe: in the mean time Alessio sticks to the old maxim of living whilst he can, endeavours to keep his master in good humour, and sacrifices a part of his fortune to retain the rest. In the list of our other visitors may be distinguished Signore Colovo, the vizir's dragoman; Signore Sakellario, one of his physicians, who possesses a superb collection of coins and antiques, but seems totally ignorant of the value they might acquire by arrangement, since he keeps them all mixed together in a leathern bag, and looks at them as a child does at his playthings; Signore Giovanni Melas, who has been already introduced to the reader's notice; the two primates of the city; Signore Stavro, a merchant of great opulence; Demetrio Droso, chief secretary of Mouchtar Pasha, whose mother is a branch of the noble Venetian family of Maruzzi; he came accompanied by two beautiful little girls his daughters, the one five and the other six years old, whom we made very happy by a present of some English toys. It is scarcely possible to conceive any thing more lovely than these children: their parents seem extremely fond of them, dressing them in the richest garments, carrying them in processions, and exhibiting them to strangers, though they take good care to immure them from sight as soon as their beauties begin to expand.

February 12.—This afternoon we thought proper to call and pay our respects to the vizir after the extraordinary civilities we had received. We found him at his serai of Litaritza, in his favourite little Albanian room, the only one in which we ever saw him more than once. His prime minister was with him, named Mahomet Effendi, a silly old man who studies astrology and occult sciences till he thinks himself gifted with inspiration, and will pore for many hours together over an old globe, though he knows not whether the earth moves round the sun, or the contrary: it would be well if he were content to pronounce oracles upon science and politics; but he is withal a violent bigot,

fierce and implacable against heretics or unbelievers, and ready to execute the most horrid commands of his despotic ruler.

The dress of the vizir both now and at other times appeared costly, but never gaudy; his magnificence shone rather in the brilliants, that actually covered the walls of this apartment. He is extremely fond of thus concentrating his wealth into a small compass; certainly it is useful to guard against the possible effects of a reverse of fortune: a little before our arrival in his dominions he had purchased six pearls, said to be the largest in Europe, and since our departure he has bought a diamond from the ex-King of Sweden at the price of 13,000*l*., which, with a number of others, he has had formed into a star, in imitation of one which he saw upon the coat of Sir Frederic Adam: this he now wears upon his breast, and calls it "his order."

He was in such good humour this day that he would not suffer us to depart when we had finished our first pipe, but ordered a second and a third: he spoke freely upon the reverses of Bonaparte, informed us of the defection of Murat from the French cause, and called for a very fine Turkish map of Europe that we might point out to him the geographical situation of the armies at this time contending about the liberties of the world. He appeared very ignorant, like all the Turks, in geography, not knowing where to look for Malta, or even for Ancona, which it behoved him much to know as an important seaport opposite his own coasts.

Dalmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.

Mr. Pouqueville indeed assured me, that Ali once questioned him upon the expediency of sending a ship of war to be coppered and rigged at Paris, and at another time wished the French army a fair wind to carry them to Vienna. Constantinople being a seaport, the Turks presume to think that every other capital city must necessarily be so too. Our conversation turned chiefly upon the great military events

at this time pending, and he seemed well aware of the tottering power of the French emperor: he spoke of his own wars as petty actions in comparison with the extensive operations of the great continental armies; though subsequently, when I was better able to converse with him in Romaic, he related some of his adventures with great apparent satisfaction. He asked us how we liked his Albanian room, and upon our expressing approbation of its comfortable appearance, he said, with some degree of vanity, that in this he was his own architect. At our leaving the palace he requested us to call frequently upon him, and as usual made us an unqualified offer of all his possessions.

On the day after this interview we made a shooting excursion with Giovanni Melas, and our two hosts: having received permission to shoot in the upper region of the lake, which, according to the game laws established by Mouchtar Pasha, is preserved for his private amusement, we had excellent sport, and Mr. Parker had the luck to shoot what is called a thalassopuli, or bird of the sea. One or two of these fowls are generally seen in every flock: it is nearly twice the size of a duck, and is decked with a superb top-knot of scarlet feathers upon its head, whilst its wings are beautifully variegated with purple and white: it is sometimes called the "Pasha's bird," (πεδλι τῦ Πασιὰ): no one presumes to kill it if the pasha be present, but each endeavours to procure him a shot by separating it from the rest, and whoever succeeds is sure of being liberally rewarded. We returned to dine upon the island, in a very neat and comfortable mansion, and were so pleased with our accommodations that we sent for our trunk-beds from the city, and Antonietti to dress the wild-fowl. Next day we made a second excursion upon the water, visiting several monasteries, and the ruins of Gastrizza. In the evening, as we returned to Ioannina by moonlight, I ordered my boat with Signore Nicolo, to row round the precipices of the castron, which beautifully overhang the lake; as we glided gently over the surface, and had just passed a high projecting angle, we heard a sudden plunge, as if some heavy body had fallen into

the water. I inquired of Nicolo what this might be, who coolly replied, "he supposed it was some incontinent lady tied up in her sack and thrown over the rock;" for thus it is that the inhabitants of these regions, in the solemn stillness of the night, hear—

> Plunged amid the sullen waves,
> The frequent corpse *.

We returned immediately to the spot, but the water was extremely deep, and the unfortunate victim, if such it was, was then hid from mortal view. We landed on the south side of the fortress, and in passing through the narrow intricate lanes in this part of the city, we observed the patrole carrying off a man to prison who had wounded another in a quarrel. My guide assured me that these occurrences are very rare in Ioannina, since the vizir has instituted the strictest police regulations, and acts with great impartiality, as far as regards the different classes of his subjects, in punishing the disturbers of public tranquillity.

Next morning after this excursion, we went to see a grand review of Albanian troops, which for the last month had been drawn together from all parts into the capital, to the terrible annoyance of the poor inhabitants, upon whom they were quartered. It was suspected that the vizir had some deep and important design in view, upon which conjecture was very busy. The review, if such it can be called, took place in the paddock adjoining the kiosk. The soldiers stood conversing in groups, strolling about, or lying down upon the ground, all except one regiment which contained many Franks, and was

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* This punishment for the same crime seems once to have been known in England. See Chaucer's Marchante's Tale, where May says to January,

> And if I do that lakke,
> Do stripen me and put me in a sakke,
> And in the next river do me drench.

Col. Leake, in his Researches (p. 410), adduces some instances to prove that it existed also among the ancient Greeks.

about half disciplined: to this a band of heterogeneous music was attached. Mr. Pouqueville once asked Ali how he procured these musicians: his answer was—τὲς ἔκλεψα· "I stole them:" that is, he induced them by promises and bribery, to desert from various regiments in the Ionian islands. No military evolutions took place, but the names of the men were called over, and those who wanted money for arms or other accoutrements, or had great arrears of pay due to them, or any grievances to complain of, were allowed to make their complaints, or offer their petitions to the vizir, who sat in a small room with large heaps of money near him, and his secretary by his side. He once endeavoured to discipline more of his troops according to the system of European tactics, but was too prudent to persevere in this plan, when he saw how extremely adverse it was to the prejudices of his Albanian palikars, and how it interfered with their customary and almost natural system of warfare. The troops which struck us most in this assemblage were the Miriditi or Mirdites, the bravest of all the tribes settled in Albania, and who wear the red shawl, and the vest a la Tancrede. They inhabit the country between Tiranna and Alessio, bordering upon the pashalic of Scutari, and can arm 10,000 men against an invading enemy. They are supposed to be descendants of those Latins who fled towards the west after their expulsion from Constantinople by Lascaris, and those whom Roger II. king of Apulia, employed in his unfortunate Thessalian expedition: their language is full of Latin and Italian terms. They profess the Roman Catholic rites, and are governed in religious matters by a bishop, called, in their own language, Knez, and by priests sent from the Society de Propaganda: they are much more intolerant and bigoted than either their Turkish or Albanian neighbours; and very few instances ever occur of their changing their religion. Their temporal chief is denominated Pringlass: they live in small villages and are very poor, but honest: they acknowledge the nominal authority of the pasha of Scutari, and send him a small annual tribute; but they never admit

his troops within their territories. The predecessor of their present chief was treacherously assassinated in the very palace of Scutari: this one never enters the pasha's dominions without an escort of three hundred men, fifty of whom attend him in the audience chamber, with their hands upon the triggers of their muskets, ready to fire upon the first appearance of treason. On another occasion the pasha hung one of their priests, for which they immediately retaliated by catching and gibbeting three Turkish dervishes. Ali has contrived to gain them over to his interests by distributing presents among their chiefs and priests, and giving double pay to the private individuals: he always employs them in his most desperate undertakings, and I understand that, without them, he would have found it difficult to have taken Gardiki. We soon returned home from this exhibition to superintend the operations of Antonietti, whom we had left preparing a dinner in the Frank fashion, to which we had invited several of our Greek acquaintance.

Our general style of living in Ioannina varied but little from that we were accustomed to in our own country. We had coffee to breakfast, and French bread from a baker established here by Mr. Pouqueville, with which we used an excellent substitute for butter in a species of scalded cream called caimac*. At dinner we generally eat stewed meats, varied with pilau, poultry, hares, partridges both of the common and the red-legged species, snipes, plover, and wild fowl; of these latter we shot so many, that after dressing them in every possible manner, and even making pies of them, we became so tired of ducks, that we distributed all in future amongst our friends. Mutton is the best meat in this country: the beef is hard and void of fat: the pork is often extremely good. I never recollect seeing veal at any table whatever. For vegetables we generally eat boiled onions, the cultivation of the potatoe not yet having been introduced at Ioan-

* This cream is produced from the milk of sheep and goats, but particularly of the former.

nina; but in the spring we procured very fine greens and lettuces: the Greeks are as yet extremely deficient in the art of making cheese, it being very salt and crumbling, without possessing any distinguishing flavour: it is made from the milk of sheep and goats, which is turned by a rennet from the intestines of a lamb: our wine was generally the produce of the islands, which is better than that made on this part of the continent: in the evening we took a cup of coffee, and prepared ourselves for repose by the narcotic influence of the most fragrant tobacco. In this system we deviated from the habits of the people among whom we sojourned.

The modern, like the ancient Greek, is abstemious in his mode of living. He rises very early in the morning, the dawn of day being the most delightful part of it in these climates, where all the business of the market is generally done long before an Englishman has taken his breakfast. After a pipe and cup of coffee, with which alone the Greek breaks his fast, he saunters about, calls upon his friends, or attends to business till noon, when his principal meal is served up: he generally takes this with his family alone, friends being rarely invited, except on particular festive occasions like a marriage or the anniversary of a birth-day. The fare consists of boiled rice, sometimes mixed with oil and vinegar, vegetables dressed with oil, an article which enters largely into all their dishes, mutton baked with almonds or pistachio nuts, stewed meats, pilau, olives called columbades, thin pastry made of eggs, flour and honey: the wine of the country is generally drank, and the fruits of the season are served up as a dessert: the dishes are placed separately upon the table, and each member of the family helps himself with fork, or spoon, or fingers, out of the same receptacle*.

* The times of taking food seem to correspond very accurately with those observed by the ancients, viz. the ἄριστον early in the morning, the δεῖπνον in the middle of the day, and the δόρπον in the evening, according to Athenæus (lib i. c. 10.) who quotes the following fragment of Æschylus in support of the fact.

After dinner the females retire to the *gynekaios*, and the men indulge in a siesta; in the afternoon visits are generally made or received, at which sweetmeats, pipes and coffee are presented to the guests. If the weather be fine, parties are made to walk in the environs of the city, to row upon the lake, to visit the island, or the monasteries on its banks, and about sunset they return to supper, which, for the most part, is a very frugal meal. At some houses cards are introduced, and many French and Italian games are in vogue. This amusement was very common at the mansion of Signore Alessio, from which our host Nicolo frequently returned with lighter pockets. Those who rise early generally retire early to rest, and this is the case with the Greeks, who rarely keep late hours.

We were now in the latter end of the carnival, when the severity of the police laws is a little relaxed, and the inhabitants are allowed to parade the streets at all hours of the night, singing to their guitars, after having sacrificed to Bacchus. As the upper ranks indulge now and then in masquerading at their convivial parties during this season, we en-

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Σῖτον δ' εἰδέναι διώρισα
Ἄριστα, δεῖπνα, δόρπα θ' αἱρεῖσθαι, τρία·

This distribution is also confirmed by Julius Pollux (lib. vi. c. 17.) who says the first meal was called ἄριστον, the second δεῖπνον, and the third, which only certain persons and not all took, τὰ δόρπα, δόρπος, or δόρπηστος· it is also the case among the modern Greeks that many abstain from this meal. The gourmans of ancient times appear to have eat four times a day, since Philemon quoted by Athenæus (in loc. cit.) speaks of the ἀκράτισμα, ἄριστον, ἐσπέρισμα, and δεῖπνον. In the heroic ages two meals seem to have sufficed, the first called ἀκράτισμα or ἄριστον (for Plutarch, Symp. l. viii. Q. vi. thinks the terms synonymous, arguing from Eumæus in the Odyssey preparing the ἄριστον at the dawn of day) and the δεῖπνον, taken after the business of the day was over, Ἦμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὠπλίσατο δεῖπνον. Civilization, with its consequent luxury, introduced three general meals; but the nebulones or bon-vivants indulged in four, whilst some abstemious venerators of antiquity adhered to two. I cannot agree with the opinion of those who think that at any time the ancients made only one meal, except a few eccentric characters, called μονοσιτοῦντες, whom we find ridiculed on this very account by the satiric poets (vid. frag. Alexid. apud Athenæum, l. ii. c. 8.) Those of the ancients, who ate thrice a day, seem, like the moderns, to have made but one hearty meal, the first and second being slight repasts, just sufficient to prevent uneasy sensations, the effects of fasting, since we find Plato severely reprehending the Syracusans, who dined and supped freely on the same day, and Cicero inveighs against the Romans, who encouraged a similar practice.

tered into the spirit of the custom, and arrayed ourselves in assumed characters, Nicolo as an English officer, Mr. Parker as a Turk, and myself as an old Greek lady, decked out in the rich velvet clothes of our venerable hostess. My two companions were frequently discovered, but my own disguise was so complete that we nearly made the whole circuit of our visits before I was unmasked: this occurred in the last house we entered, belonging to a sister-in-law of Signore Nicolo: here I was at first permitted freely to sit amongst a large party of females, until a fine young girl, named Alessandra, eyeing me attentively, cried out, ἶναι ἄνθρωπος, "it is a man," and the whole party scampered off as if they had been stung by a gad-fly, hiding themselves in every nook and corner of the house.

The same evening, after changing our dress, we witnessed a very extraordinary marriage procession from the window of another of Nicolo's relatives. I never recollect seeing such a crowd in the streets of Ioannina as on this occasion, which was the deportation of one of Ali's own concubines from his harem to the house of an officer to whom he had given her in marriage. One would have thought it impossible that a victim who had escaped from the bars of such a prison, in which sensuality reigns without love, luxury without taste, and slavery without remission, could have complied so far with custom as to walk, in the first ecstasies of liberty, with a motion not much quicker than the minute hand of a town-clock: she was attended by no persons of her own sex, but her train-bearer and supporters were Albanian soldiers, friends of her future spouse; from the great number of torches carried in procession, we were enabled to get a perfect view of her face, which was by no means handsome: her figure was very lusty, but this amongst the Turks is considered more beautiful than the proportions of the Medicean Venus. She was superbly attired, but we were informed that the pearls and brilliants which adorned her head and neck were only lent for the occasion, and would be returned next day

to the seraglio. The dress she wore, and two other suits, which, together with the furniture of the bridal bed were carried after her by the Albanian guards, was all the dowry she received from her former master.

It is not by any means an unusual thing with Ali Pasha thus to dispose of the females of his harem; he gives them not only to his Turkish Greek and Albanian retainers, but very willingly to Franks who enter into his service. At Tepeleni we saw two Italian gardeners who had been thus generously provided with consorts: but, as I have before observed, he is free from many Turkish prejudices, and is very ready to dispense with any forms, civil or religious, if he thinks his own interest can be thereby promoted: perhaps some of my readers may not give him much credit for liberality in this case, when they are informed that he possesses about 500 female victims, guarded by eunuchs, and immured within the impenetrable recesses of his harem; though it may be supposed that most of these are retained merely to augment his dignity*, and to wait upon his favourites. Before age had chilled his blood his sensuality was unbounded. Wherever his satellites heard of a beautiful child, of either sex, they dragged it from the paternal roof, and massacred the family or burned the village if any resistance was offered. One of his most beautiful females was torn from the hymeneal altar whilst she was pledging her vows to a fine young man, son of the primate of Vonizza, who, unable to bear the loss, or to avenge it, blew out his own brains with his pistol. Such disgusting scenes are reported

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* Thus it seems to have been in ancient times, to instance only Agamemnon, of whose harem, mentioned in the following lines of Homer,

Πλεῖαί τοι χαλκῷ κλισίαι πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
Εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἃς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
Πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν·

Aristotle makes the following remark: Ἀλλ' ἐκ εἰκὸς εἰς χρῆσιν εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς γέφας. Athenæi, lib. xii. p. 556.

to be acted within his harem, and especially that of his son Mouchtar, as are little fit for description in these pages: even the Turks themselves are accustomed to speak of them with astonishment and abhorrence. His present favourite is a young Greek slave, named Vasilikee, born at Paramithia and brought up in the serai from a child: she is said to be extremely beautiful, and bears an excellent character for charity; her kind disposition is frequently shewn in mitigating the severities of her lordly lover over his subjects. In her patronage also she has been thought remarkably judicious, for greatest part of the offices about court and other provincial appointments are settled in the harem, where Turkish and Greek ladies daily attend to visit the inmates, and to promote the views of their husbands and relations. Wherever Ali goes Vasilikee constantly attends him; she has retained his affections longer than any other woman, and in 1816 he married her with great pomp and ceremony, and permits her to retain her own religious rites and doctrines. At Tepeleni also there is an establishment of women, over which the mother of Salee Bey, a Circassian slave, formerly a favourite mistress and still highly respected by the vizir, presides.

In other respects Ali's court is supported with a great degree of splendour and expense far exceeding those of many princes in the Germanic confederacy. I was informed that provisions were cooked in his palaces at Ioannina for near 1500 persons daily, amongst whom are found visiters and retainers from all parts of the globe, attracted hither by his fame, and whose services he seldom refuses to accept. At the time of our residence he had for a guest one of the khans or princes of Persia.

His three principal secretaries of state were at this time old Mahomet Effendi the astrologer, chief of the divan, who had the general management of affairs in his master's absence*; Sechrì Effendi, the most violent

* This old gentleman is since dead.

Mahometan bigot in Ali's dominions, who generally accompanies him in his excursions and executes his most important commissions; Dwann Effendi, who carries on his correspondence with the Porte, for which purpose a capi-kehagia or procurator is appointed at Constantinople. Besides these he has four under-secretaries, all Greeks, whose business it is to correspond with the beys, agàs, and governors in the different Albanian provinces; the two first of these named Mantho and Costa are men of the most crafty and subtile disposition, the ready instruments of all the pasha's schemes of vengeance and of power*.

His two dragomen, or interpreters, are also Greeks, the first Signore Colovo, and the second Beyzady, the son of a prince of the Fanar.

He has four regular physicians, who serve him also in the capacity of secretaries and interpreters, as occasion may require: for every person attached to Ali's service must be able to walk out of his own particular course.

Besides all these, there are many sage counsellors who take their places at his divan, though they are not dignified by any peculiar office: in these he places the most implicit confidence, for they are all tried men. The principal of them are Mezzo Bonno, Dervish Hassan, Agho Mordari, and Athanasi Vayà, his favourite and most successful general, who might indeed be styled commander in chief. This person is intrusted with his master's most intimate secrets, and has free access to him in the hours of his most perfect retirement.

In addition to the above-mentioned officers employed in affairs of council he has a multitude who attend to those of ceremony. There is the

Selictar-Agà, who carries the sword of state,

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* Vely Pasha after his reconciliation with his father so abhorred these men that he requested as a favour that his correspondence with the vizir might not be carried on through their agency. Mantho was his agent in the affair of Parga.

Bairactar-Agà, who carries the standard,

Devichtar-Agà, who carries the inkstand, and

Mouchourdar-Agà, who bears the signet.

The Capi-Baloukbashee lodges in the palace and superintends the police-guards.

The Ibroghor-Agà is the chief groom of the stables.

The Capsilar-Agà is master of the ceremonies.

The Caftan-Agà throws the pelisse over such as are so honoured by the vizir.

The Rachtivan-Agà has the care of the silver bridles and housings for the stud.

The Shatir-Agàs are four in number, who attend the vizir in processions, carrying a species of halbert by the side of his horse.

The two Bouchurdan-Agàs perfume him when he goes to mosque.

The Shamdan-Agà precedes the wax candles into the apartment.

The Sofrageebashi sets out the table.

The Ibriktar-Agà pours the water from the golden pitcher over the vizir's hands, and the Macramageebashi holds the towels.

The Peskir-Agà throws the silken shawls round him and his guests.

The Cafigeebashi superintends the coffee, and the Tutungeebashi the pipes.

Two high officers are the Mechterbashi or chief of the band, and the Tatar-Agà, who is at the head of one hundred tatars.

There are about twenty Chaoushes, and the same number of Kaivasis, who carry silver-knobbed sticks before the vizir in procession, and are the porters or keepers of his door: whenever he puts to death a great man he sends a Kaivasi to act as executioner.

The house-steward or officer who superintends the general expences is called Vechilhargi, and has many subordinate persons under him.

It would be tedious to pursue this detail further, neither can I answer for the accurate orthography of all the names already quoted,

though I took them down with as much care as possible from the mouth of a person high in office at the seraglio.

In addition to his proper officers, the court of Ali is crowded with a multitude of dependants and others, skilled in every art of adulation and mean compliance. Some of these turn him to good account by working upon his superstition. At this very time a Turkish dervish and a Greek artisan had conspired together to cheat him, and had persuaded him they were able to make a panacea or essence which should render him immortal: they had been working a long time in the serai with crucibles and alembics, and will probably continue to gain money from him for their pretended preparations, until death shall cure all his complaints.

The retinue of Mouchtar Pasha is very large, though inconsiderable when compared with that of his father. He supports two hundred officers and others of his household, and a thousand troops or Albanian guards. His annual income is estimated at about 350,000 dollars, though the vizir takes to himself the greatest part of his revenue from the pashalic of Berat.

CHAPTER IV.

State of Literature in Ioannina—Romaic Language—Turkish Society—Anecdote of a Greek Papas—Vespers at the Cathedral—Church of Sta. Marina—Vizir's Bath—End of Carnival—Tyrannical Acts of Ali Pasha—Tenure of Land in Albania—Chiflicks—Comparative State of Albania with the rest of Turkey—Greek Funeral—Expedition of Ali against Parga—Dinner with Mr. Pouqueville—Ali's Council—Visit to Mouchtar Pasha—Occurrence at his Serai—Festival at the Church of St. Theodore—Greek Superstitions, Clergy, &c.

IT may perhaps be expected that I should say something respecting the literary society of Ioannina: but to confess the truth, I saw very little to describe; and if this city is called by some writers the Athens of modern Greece, I must own the term seems to me no bad specimen of the figure of speech called amplification.

Literature throughout Greece is but beginning to awake from that lethargy in which she has lain so many centuries: at present her motion is feeble and weak, she creeps on with torpid languor instead of soaring aloft, as formerly, in eagle flight. The minds of the people have been too long debased with sordid cares, and fettered too heavily with the manacles of despotic power, for sublime aspirations at present; they no longer possess, nor can they possess, that creative fire of genius, that untrodden soul (the Ψυχὴ ἄβατον) which characterized their great progenitors. In their writings we observe at present only feeble copies of the ancients, or vain attempts at originality, wherein all true taste and simplicity is violated. Elaborate truisms, superficial remarks, metaphy-

sical absurdities, inaccurate details deform the pages of their historians, politicians, and philosophers, whose writings give but little colour to policy, consistency to facts, or propriety to character; whilst the fire and spirit, the *igneus vigor et cælestis origo*, of antiquity, is totally absent from the conceptions and expressions of their poets.

Yet is not this said for the purpose of censure so much as of commiseration. In estimating the literary character of a people, we must take into consideration the circumstances which surround them. Nothing is great but by comparison, and if we perceive the modern Greeks deficient in that powerful talent, that extent of information, that accuracy of criticism, that eloquence and discriminating judgment which distinguish the polished capitals of civilized Europe, we must reflect also upon their misfortunes and debasement, we must remember that security is necessary for speculative abstraction, that the principles of truth are essential to eloquence, that independence of character is the nurse of Science, and that Poesy extends her impetuous flight only upon the wings of Liberty. But in these unfortunate realms, where tyranny has so long been established, suspicion, like the sword of Damocles, has uniformly banished joy from the hearts of the people; self-interest, and the acquisition of wealth, have been their ruling passions; superstition has long lent its assistance in blunting all the energies of mind; few have been the aids which education has given to talent; few the rewards proposed to emulation.

Still it would be wrong to say that the germ of genius no longer exists among the Greeks, whilst the substratum of their character seems to remain very similar to that of their ancestors. We may remark in the moderns the same perspicacity and pliability which distinguished the ancients, the same ingenuity in supplanting a rival, the same appetency for honours and distinctions however dangerous, the same desire of pomp and magnificence, the same liveliness and gaiety of heart when relieved from the presence of tyranny: the chief difference seems effected by external circumstances; the ancients were masters,

but the moderns are slaves; those moved in conscious dignity over a land immortalized by their valour, these are obliged to bow the neck beneath the foot of every petty tyrant. In such an atmosphere it is impossible for genius to bloom; yet when her scions are transplanted into a more genial climate we find them vigorous and full of sap*; and whilst such noble-minded men as the Zosimades continue to pour the stream of bounty over their native land, planting the seed, though the time of harvest may be far distant, and whilst such patriotic souls as that of the venerable Korai exert their energies to infuse purity into the language, good taste into the writings, and generosity into the sentiments of their countrymen, we need not despair. Knowledge is increasing and will increase; with knowledge not only the desire of freedom but the fitness for it will increase also; true patriotism will spread through all ranks; and when Greece shall escape from bondage corporeal and intellectual, then its genius will revive; the Memnonian statue, now mute, when struck by the rays of Liberty will again utter its harmonious sounds.

Perhaps there is no part of Greece where its language has been preserved in greater purity than the mountainous districts of Epirus, or where more efforts have been made to restore it than in Ioannina. It is here much less mixed with Oriental barbarisms, or exotic Frank and Italian terms. Though the Romaic in its idioms, terminations, and phraseology has never departed so far from its original, as the Italian has from its mother tongue, it may be doubted whether this be an advantage or the contrary. The latter language, after a succession of foreign intermixtures and a variety of changes, was regenerated, as it were, in the sudden regeneration of the people, and assumed at once a noble consistency, copious expression, and delightful harmony: but the former has remained, and must ever remain, a debased enervated dia-

* The transcendant abilities of Ugo Foscolo, a Grecian born, but educated in Italy, may be cited as an illustration of this truth.

lect of the most glorious language ever yet formed by the ingenuity of mankind, eclipsed for ever by the brightness of its original. Still the efforts made to repair its defects and eradicate its barbarisms are extremely praiseworthy, especially since every good composition we can expect from the modern Greeks must be written in Romaic: if they attempt the Hellenic they will surely fail: no language can well express the genuine dictates of the heart in the eloquence of genius, but that to which we have been accustomed from our infancy, that in which we have listened to the accents of maternal tenderness, the admonitions of paternal care, the sentiments of friendship, or the soft whispers of a still sweeter affection.

Yet reform in the Romaic language, like all other reforms, ought to be gradual and not violent. Above all things it must not be committed to such a set of radical reformers as appeared no long time ago in Ioannina, who formed themselves into a committee of management for this purpose, and published a number of small works in their new-fangled dialect, the Ρομεηκη γλοσσα, as they chose to call it; in which, by universal consent, they banished poor ω from his alphabetic associates for no fault at all; ι for that system of iotacism to which he had given rise; punished the diphthongs αι and ει, by making them change places with ε and η, whose sound they had usurped, using β for υ wherever this latter was pronounced as a consonant, with many other alterations, which may be observed in the ode which I have subjoined, composed by the physician Velara, who was at the head of this association. His principal coadjutors were Signore Psalida, and an ignorant pretender in the medical line named Sakellario, who writes sonnets upon love and ladies' eye-brows, in default of prescriptions. The species of reform introduced by these innovators would soon put a final stop to all *improvement* in the language.

——— Non defensoribus istis,
Tempus eget.

But let the Romaic scholar judge for himself*.

Πλανη.

1. Πθλακη ξενο
Ξενητεμενο
Πθλη χαμενο
Πθ να ταθο;

Πθ να καθησο
Να ξενηχτησο
Να μη χαθο;

Κηταζο τ' ἀγρα
Πθλια ζεβγαρη
Αφτην τη χαρη
Δεν εχο πλια.

Νηκτα με δερη
Με δηχος τερη
Χορης φολια.

2. Βραδιαζ' ἡ 'μερα·
Σκοταδη περη,
Κε δηχος τερη,
Πθ να ταθο;

Πθ να φολιασο
Σε ξενο δασο
Να μη χαθο;

5. Γηρηζο ναβρο
Πθ να καθησο
Να ξενηχτησο
Κανμοναχο·

Καθε κληρακη
Βατα πθλακη
Ζεβγαροτο·

3. 'Η 'μερα φεβγη
'Η νυχτα βιαζη
Να ἡσηχαζη
Καθε πθλη·

'Εγο τεναζο
Το τερη κραζο
Ξενοπθλη·

6. Δεν με γνορηζθν·
Κ' ἐδο με διοχνθν·
Κ' ἐκη μ' ἀποχνθν·
Πθ να ταθο;

Αχ! πος να γενο·
Πθ να πηγενο,
Να μη χαθο;

The style of conversation amongst a people is generally found to be a good criterion of their literature; and as I have before observed, that of Ioannina, though superior to what is met with in the rest of Greece, is not much distinguished for brilliancy and flow of soul. We certainly met with many persons who had improved their manners by an inspection of foreign countries, as well as their faculties by the acqui-

* I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a long discussion respecting the origin and progress of the Romaic language and literature: neither could I add much to the copious account already given by Col. Leake in his 'Researches in Greece,' a work which is well worth the attention of all who intend to prosecute inquiries in this branch of literature, or who are desirous of travelling in Greece with advantage. I think however that the modern dialect, or Romaic, might easily be shewn to have been chiefly formed from the writings of ecclesiastics, and the text of the New Testament: numberless terms for the common articles of life are derived from that source, where indeed very near approaches are found to the Romaic infinitive, and to the use of the auxiliary verbs; besides numerous examples of Latin and other foreign words, Grecized and incorporated into the new dialect by a mere literal change. With regard to the present confusion of accent and quantity, or the way in which the ancients themselves distinguished them, I know nothing about the subject, and never met with any person who did.

sition of modern languages and some few other accomplishments; but we neither saw nor heard of any that were noted for attainments beyond mediocrity: we found some who had gained a smattering of philosophy, falsely so called, and who had paid very dear for it by acquiring a scepticism on more serious subjects. Upon the whole therefore, the chief interest in the society of Ioannina is derived from novelty, and when this wears off, nothing succeeds to relieve its monotony, agitate the stagnant ideas, and occupy the faculties of a reflective being; no musical or theatrical exhibitions, no exhibitions of the fine arts, no political discussion, no courts of law, not even a new book or a pamphlet; for neither a printing press nor a bookseller's shop is to be found in this capital*.

For the sake of variety we sometimes paid visits of ceremony to some of the Turkish beys and agàs, by whom we were invariably received with urbanity and politeness. We generally found the master of the house seated, according to custom, at the corner of his divan, dressed in that rich oriental garb, whose graceful folds confine, without disfiguring the limbs: pipes and coffee, sherbet and sweetmeats, were always introduced as a matter of course, and the conversation, though it might not be enlivened by that play of fancy in which its greatest charm consists, was frequently rendered interesting by the sensible and acute observations of our dignified host.

The Turk, though he applies neither to philosophy nor science, is well versed in the knowledge of the human heart, inasmuch as he studies men much more than books, and he frequently displays a perspicacity of intellect, which, with due cultivation, might enable him to shine a distinguished ornament of society. The most insuperable obstacle to his progress in refinement is the system of his religious faith; this is so identified with his political institutions, as to fix an

* Books however may sometimes be procured at the shops of different trades: for instance, I myself purchased a Romaic translation of the Persian Tales at the window of a tobacconist.

indelible stamp upon all his habits, manners, and customs, which accordingly are found at the present day to vary very little, if at all, from the accounts transmitted to us by Besbequius and other early writers.

Feb. 19.—This morning we received a letter, dated Prevesa, from Mr. Foresti, who had left Ioannina for that place several days before; and we were highly gratified by the intelligence of our army having passed the Pyrenees and entered France. This departure of the English envoy, the great accumulation of troops in the capital, the employment of a large body of Miriditi, together with several obscure hints from Mr. Pouqueville, all announced that some important action was near at hand, and various rumours were afloat upon the subject.

After breakfast I made an excursion upon the lake with Signore Nicolo, and in returning shot a fine eagle just as he was about to pounce upon a duck: this bird measured five feet eight inches from the extremities of his extended wings, and three feet two inches from the beak to the end of his claws: poor Antonietti in attempting to take him up received bloody marks of his talons upon his hand; he was then secured by one of the boatmen. On landing we were met by a priest with a long black beard, and a box, into which he requested us to put alms for the Panagia. I begged Signore Nicolo to repeat to him the reply of Antisthenes upon a similar occasion: Οὐ τρέφω τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ἵνα οἱ θεοὶ τρέφωσιν· "For which," replied the papas in his zealous indignation, "he is undoubtedly damned;" appealing to Signore Nicolo for a confirmation of his assertion: Nicolo however, who is rather sceptical on these points, chose to leave the matter in doubt with the interrogative answer, ποῖος ἴδεν; "who can tell?"

In the afternoon we went to hear vespers or evening service at the cathedral, called the Metropolis, adjoining to which is the palace of the archbishop: the edifice itself is neither large nor handsome; all that can be said of the chaunting is, that it was not disagreeable, though

like the Greek singing in general, it was much indebted to the nasal organs of the performers: the women were all separated from the men in a gallery appropriated to them at the west end of the church, whose thick lattice-work hides all particular observation from the male congregation below. From hence we adjourned to the church dedicated to Santa Marina, which was founded by the father of our host, old Anastasi Bretto: this is the handsomest place of Christian worship that we saw in Turkey, and as profusely adorned with gilding as the second rate churches of Spain and Portugal. The singing was just concluded, but a deacon observing our entrance, came up with a large silver plate, upon which lay a wax taper and two pictures of the patron saint: we deposited thereon two dollars, and received in return each a picture; probably the offerings were not thought considerable enough to deserve the taper.

At night I went to the public bath, whilst Mr. Parker, who had long been disgusted with its filthy appearance, adjourned to one which is annexed to the palace of the vizir: but the state of his clothes when he returned home evidently proved that in this country no rank is a protection against the intrusion of certain animalculæ that carry on a constant war against mankind. This being the last day of carnival we were kept awake great part of the night by drunken parties of Greeks and Albanians, who seemed eager to seize that shadow of gaiety to which the real austerities of superstition were so soon about to succeed: the night was rainy, yet even this could not damp the ardour with which Bacchus had inspired them.

We were this time particularly unfortunate, for at the very dawn of day, when the Bacchanals had retired and we were just beginning to enjoy the comfort of repose, the loud and piercing shrieks of female distress prompting the idea that nothing less than murder was going forward under the roof, impelled us instantaneously from our beds: but before we had advanced so far as the outer gallery, whence the noise proceeded, Antonietti met and informed us that all this outcry

arose from our old hostess, Nicolo's mother, to whom his highness the vizir had that morning sent a present of ten kiloes of wheat. He had scarcely finished his speech before the old lady herself ran up howling and crossing herself, entreating us to have compassion upon her and interfere in her behalf with the pasha. We were at first quite astonished how all this affliction could be caused by so handsome a gift, and were inclined to reproach her with madness or ingratitude, until the bystanders informed us that this *present* must be paid for at double the market price, and that the messenger was then in the house waiting for the money. Upon this the old lady began to renew her lamentations, which we thought best to quiet by assisting her in paying for the wheat, rather than by annoying the vizir in what he might think an impertinent application. We found also that the calamity was common to all the inhabitants of Ioannina, each of whom had received a present according to his reputed means or the esteem in which he was held by his sovereign. The great extent of this avania tended still more to strengthen our conjectures that some important blow was about to be struck; for Ali never engages in an expedition or levies any troops without contriving some such method as this for the ways and means. Sometimes he takes similar measures merely to increase the contents of his treasury and improve his finances: once however he had nearly gone too far even for the most obdurate patience and well-practised slavery to bear. This occurred in the year 1812, when he took advantage of a deficient harvest to establish a monopoly of corn, prohibiting at the same time its importation from the fertile plains of Thessaly, whence Epirus is always in some measure supplied. On the 23d of June the poor people were reduced to such an extremity that they assembled in vast crowds around the serai of Litaritza, unawed by the presence of the tyrant, and with the most clamorous importunities demanded bread or death. One of the Albanian guards, of the tribe of Dgeges, fired his pistol amongst the multitude, and the rest were on the point of

following his example; but Ali foresaw the consequences, and was alarmed; he ordered them to forbear, hung up the offender instantly in sight of all the people, and told them that if they would disperse they should be satisfied. They did so, and he sent 2000 horse-loads of wheat immediately to be sold at a very low price, lowered his demand for the contents of his store-houses, and opened the communication with Thessaly. About a fortnight after this affair, determining not to be a loser by his humanity, he laid a heavy contribution upon all the principal Turks of Ioannina who derived any salary or emolument from his government. His own son, Mouchtar Pasha, was made to pay 150 purses; Gelalim Bey, and Mahomet Bey of Kastoria, two very rich men, disbursed twenty each; old Mahomet and Sechri Effendi fifteen; Agho Mordari, Mezzo Bono, and Dervish Hassan were amerced in twelve, and others in due proportion.

For these contributions, vexatious as they appear, he may have some plea of financial regulation; but the tricks to which he sometimes descends for the purpose of amassing money, are so mean and absurd as to be quite unworthy of one who assumes the character of a sovereign. For instance, he wishes to borrow a large loan from his subjects; he orders them to pay it in gold, and he returns it in silver, not according to the value of this metal at Ioannina, but at Constantinople, where it bears a much less ratio to that of gold.

He once purchased at a very reduced price a cargo of coffee, which had been totally spoiled by the entrance of the sea water into an English brig. He then sent for some coffee-dealers and Jews of Ioannina, and thus opened the conference with the principal tradesman:

"At what price now is coffee, Murrie*?"

"Please your highness, we purchase it at Malta for three piastres

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* The expression is one which he constantly uses to almost all that approach him: it is one, not quite of contempt, but of a familiarity that borders on it, and is only used by a superior to his inferior in rank: it is derived from the vocative of the Greek word μωρος.

the pound, but the freight and duties oblige us to sell it again for four and a half."

"Well, Murrie, I have some excellent coffee which I will sell you at five piastres, by which you will avoid all trouble and risk."

"Please your highness, we have a great quantity at this time on hand, and it is quite a drug in the market."

"Haithe haithe, keratádes—get out, you horned rascals, you shall purchase it for *six*."

It is almost needless to add that the coffee was sent and the money paid. On a similar occasion he sold some hundred dozens of sword blades which he had purchased from a villain who, not being able to sell them on account of the badness of their manufacture, went to the vizir and offered them to him at half price. In like manner he bought a large assortment of watches *made to sell*, as well as snuff-boxes, rings, and toys, from a travelling Geneva merchant. He then sent for the Archbishop of Ioannina—"Here is a watch for you, very beautiful and very excellent: I expect that to-morrow you will make me a present of sixty sequins."

The two Greek primates next received each a gratuitous snuff-box, and almost every Greek possessed of wealth and reputation in the place, was gratified by his sovereign's gracious condescension and a present, with which, after receiving it in silence, he touched his forehead and lips, in token of respect, and departed.

These however are only a few trifling modes of tyranny with which Ali amuses himself in drawing money out of the pockets of his subjects. His grand and truly oppressive system is that of the chiflicks: this will best be understood if I explain the tenure under which land in Albania is held. All the villages then are either free villas or chiflicks. The free villa is divided into certain portions according to the number of proprietors, and a tenth of the whole produce is due to the sultan for the maintenance of the spahis, a species of military force somewhat resembling our yeomanry cavalry, except that they are liable to serve

in foreign warfare either personally or by deputy. The vizir, in quality of collector for the sovereign, generally doubles this impost, though he sends but a very small part of it to Constantinople. He appoints a baloukbashee, with a party of soldiers, to govern the village and receive the taxes, who are paid by the poor inhabitants: these latter also are subject to the expenses of lodging and boarding all officers civil or military, all soldiers upon their march, and all travellers, whether natives or foreigners, who are furnished with a bouyourdee: neither is any transfer of land allowed to take place without the vizir's permission.

Can an Englishman credit it? These poor people, when allowed to possess their property on this tenure, consider themselves under the peculiar favour of Heaven! But the insatiable avarice of their despot urges him daily to strip them even of these scanty privileges. Ali's aim is to become the greatest landed proprietor in his dominions, and I think I shall not err if I assert that he possesses at least one third of the whole cultivated territory: he is little aware how much more rapidly his treasures would increase, by the encouragement of arts, agriculture, and commerce, and by the promotion of happiness amongst his subjects. To gain possession of a villa he generally contrives to purchase the portion of some indigent landed proprietor, which is not very difficult on account of his severe ordinance respecting the sale of estates; then, when the porcupine is once settled in the nest, the snakes may hiss, but they are soon dispossessed. If this plan does not succeed, and he is unable to make any purchase, he sends Albanian troops in succession through the district, with orders that they shall make a long sojourn among the unfortunate inhabitants of the villa, which is the object of his cupidity. It may easily be conceived in such a case how the injuries of a savage undisciplined soldiery are connived at and encouraged, rather than restrained or punished. Indeed the accumulated miseries to which the wretched victims are thus cruelly exposed can scarcely fail of its proposed

effect: they throw up all their land into the hands of their tyrant, remaining upon it as tenants at will, to receive a certain portion of the produce in return for the labour of cultivation, expenses for seed, and implements of husbandry. The free villa then loses all its ancient rights and becomes what is called a chiflick.

The condition of a chiflick is as follows. The vizir first takes one tenth of the whole produce, to which he would be entitled were it a free villa. The remainder is divided into three portions, of which he receives two, and if he should have furnished the seed and stock, he also takes half the remaining third. Some of these chiflicks are let annually at a certain price, either to Greeks, Turks, or Albanians, the vizir keeping a large book in which the names and prices are regularly enrolled. Our kaivasi Mustafà had hired a small one for the next year, at the rate of 800 dollars: but Ali having transferred it before our departure to Mouchtar Pasha, he took it into his own hands, and poor Mustafà lost an excellent bargain. The purchaser generally resides upon the spot, is dignified by the title of Shubashee, and has the command of the village under the vizir. At those chiflicks which Ali keeps in his own hands he builds large barns and granaries, in which the produce is kept under the care of the codgià-bashee, until some pressing occasion raises the price of grain; and if this should not happen, he fixes an arbitrary value upon the article and forces his subjects to become purchasers. The greatest evil to which the inhabitants of chiflicks are subject is their frequent transportation, like herds of cattle, to different parts of the country, according to the caprice or supposed interest of their master. The pictures of these clans leaving the mansions of their ancestors and those spots which have become endeared to them by the earliest associations, are described as being sometimes very affecting.

In considering these details one is naturally tempted to ask why do not his subjects quit for ever such an inhospitable country, and emigrate to happier climes? Alas! this is impossible. Not to mention

that affection for the natal soil which binds down the will in spite of all the inclemency of nature and the injustice of a tyrant, surer measures of prevention are adopted in Albania. No man can leave these realms, even for the shortest time, without a special licence from their ruler, whilst the frontiers and passes are most diligently guarded: if any one should escape these barriers, his property would be forfeited and his relatives cast into prison, to be made answerable for his return: besides, after all, the government of Ali Pasha is upon the whole beneficial to Albania, in comparison with that state under which it existed previously to his reign, and it is happiness itself when opposed to the government of the Morea and most other parts of Turkey. Here indeed one tyrant reigns supreme, but there every petty Mussulman can lord it over the miserable rayahs.

February 20th.—This afternoon, as I was taking a walk round the city with Giovanni Argyri, we observed a funeral procession moving from a Greek house of respectable appearance: the corpse was richly decked, and had a crucifix placed upon its breast, its face being uncovered as it lay upon the bier: this was preceded by the relations, priests, and deacons, and surrounded by hired female mourners who acted all the motions of distracted grief and made the air resound with the most horrid and disgusting lamentations, crying out, "Why did you die? why did you leave your wife and family and all your possessions? who shall now bring you coffee and tobacco from the Bazar?" with many more queries to the same effect. A very considerable crowd joined the procession which we accompanied to the church of Panagia, when the bier was set down: the service for the dead was then read over the body, which after its mouth and forehead had been kissed by the relations was wrapped up in a winding sheet and rolled into the grave. After the ceremony, the party, as I understood from my guide, would return and feast at the house of the deceased, where his friends would also meet again on the ninth day after the funeral to make merry, whilst the women would renew their

doleful cries and lamentations in concert with the widow. On that day a mess of boiled wheat, mixed up with almonds and raisins, is sent to the church, where prayers are put up for the soul of the departed. The same ceremony is observed also on the fifteenth day, on the twenty-first, and the fortieth. Then a repetition only takes place at the end of three, six, nine, and twelve months, and lastly at the expiration of three years, when the bones of the corpse are disinterred, washed carefully with wine, and, being tied up in a bag, deposited in the church for three days before they are placed in the common cemetery, at which time a solemn mass is performed, and a number of wax tapers are distributed amongst the by-standers. An entertainment also is given by the relations in proportion to their circumstances.

Observing an extraordinary number of graves in this cemetery, whereas the church is very small, I inquired the reason from Giovanni, and learned that it is the favourite place of burial with the principal families of Ioannina, with whom it is the fashion to deposit the mortal remains of their friends, out of sight, lest the mournful recollection of their loss should obtrude itself upon their minds when they go to divine worship at their own churches. The greatest part of these graves are decorated with a small stone or marble monument, in appearance like a square pilaster, surmounted by a cross; it is hollow within, having a little wooden door attached, and containing a lamp which is lighted on certain festivals, as well as on the anniversary of the deceased's birth and death: this service is undertaken by a priest who is paid for his trouble by the family.

Feb. 21.—Early this morning Antonietti came into our room, to say that all the military of Ioannina was in motion, that the vizir had just left the capital in his old German coach, escorted by a body guard of 500 palikars, whilst the hen-coops were preparing for the ladies of his harem to follow him. I immediately arose, and as soon as I was dressed, walked out into the environs of the city, where I beheld immense multitudes of Albanian troops spreading themselves over the plain, or

ascending the hills, and rushing, like ravenous wolves in search of prey, towards their place of rendezvous. Nothing could be more wildly picturesque than the appearance they made in their white fleecy capotes and national costume, strutting in a kind of martial pride as though they disdained to touch the earth with their tread. Few circumstances could have imparted greater joy to the people of Ioannina than this departure of the military, for whom they had been so long constrained to find quarters, to the utter destruction of domestic comfort, and in many instances to the ruin of morality amongst their families: the relief now experienced was like the removal of an incubus. Luckily it happened to be the cold season, or the most destructive fevers might have been the fatal consequence of this military occupation of the capital.

We dined this day with the French Consul, and from him learned what we before suspected, that the march of Ali's troops was directed towards Parga. That heroic little republic had to this time withstood all attempts of the tyrant to subdue it. He had tried every means, and had recourse to every art which he had hitherto employed with so much success: but the Parghiotes defied his threats, despised his arms, and rejected his bribes: with them a generous patriotism triumphed over every mean and selfish consideration, supported them in calamity, animated them with hope, and burned like the vestal's fire perpetually in their breasts. Every other inch of ground in Epirus was under the dominion of Ali: he had subdued and concentrated the various realms of Pashas, Agàs, or free republics, round the focus of his power, and he was indignant that this little rock should defy his efforts and preserve its independence; that the flame of liberty should burn upon this last altar in poor enslaved Greece, like a beacon to excite her sons to shake off the yoke of tyranny.

Impressed with these ideas and accurately informed as to the state of continental affairs, he had been for some time engaged in assiduous endeavours to persuade Mr. Pouqueville and General Denzèlot the gover-

nor of Corfu, to cede this fortress to him for a valuable consideration. But in this negociation he was cruelly disappointed. Those honourable men, though they well knew the preponderance of British arms, and that Parga must eventually be lost, steadily refused under any conditions to deliver up 5000 Christians to their sanguinary and atrocious enemy, or to sacrifice the lives and fortunes of those whom they had once taken under their protection, and upon whose citadel they had hoisted the standard of France. Who can reflect without horror that the British flag, which succeeded it, proved the winding-sheet of Parghiot independence?

Our conversation to-day turned naturally upon this interesting subject, and never shall I forget the exultation which that excellent man Mr. Pouqueville shewed at the very thought of Parga falling under the power of England so well able to protect it. He described the character of its inhabitants in such favourable terms as made us extremely desirous of visiting the place, and this wish eventually was gratified. In spite of the vast number of troops which Ali had now led against them, he secretly suspected that shame and defeat would be the result of his attempts, and he paid a compliment to the patriotism of Mr. Foresti which subsequent events shewed was well deserved.

Our host informed us that the priest or chaplain of the Miriditi had been with him this morning to borrow one of his rooms, with various other accommodations, for the celebration of mass. Thus those very barbarians, after participating in the benefit of their Saviour's redemption, had gone willing instruments in a tyrant's hand to massacre without the least personal provocation, a set of Christians whose only fault was their hatred and opposition to tyranny! What a labyrinth is the human heart!

During the absence of his father, Mouchtar acted as caimacam or vice-pasha; but the pressure of public business did not seem to lessen his avidity for amusements, or interrupt him in the enjoyment of them. The divan or council, at which old Mahomet Effendi presided, met every day; but its members were mere puppets, and could do no act

without the permission of their master: accordingly all the tatars were put in requisition and were in constant motion between the capital and Prevesa. Ali indeed sometimes contrives to throw the odium of oppressive and disagreeable measures upon his council, though he never allows it free agency. His insatiable love of power makes him anxious that all the minutest springs of state machinery should depend upon himself: and this desire is seconded by that knowledge which he has acquired of his territories during his extensive peregrinations, and by his extraordinary memory, which enables him to remember persons and facts at a wonderful distance of time. Every one seems conscious of the power which this knowledge gives him, and when absent, his presence is still, as it were, felt: nothing can illustrate this so admirably as the expression made use of by the physician Metaxà to Dr. Holland, "that there was a cord tied round every individual in his dominions, longer or shorter, more or less fine; but every one of which cords went to him and was held in his hand*."

One day, during Ali's absence, having paid a visit to Mouchtar Pasha, as we were sitting in his saloon such violent shrieks and outcries from a female were heard beneath the window, that he ordered her to be brought up. The poor creature being introduced, ran and threw herself at his feet kissing the hem of his garment and imploring him, with the most moving lamentations, to save her daughter, a young girl only fourteen years old, whom Sechrì Effendi, one of Ali's chief secretaries, and a violent bigot, had seduced to the Mahometan faith. Can it be believed that this brute in a human shape set up a loud laugh and ordered his chaoushes to turn the poor suppliant out of his serai?

February 26.—This day a festival or fair was held in booths upon a vacant space, about a mile from the city, at the church of St. Theodore, and in honour of its patron. At about eleven o'clock A. M. we set out for the scene of action, and were passed on the road by Signore Alessio

* Holland's Travels, p. 187.

mounted upon a finely caparisoned white charger, and accompanied by a long train of Greek gentlemen. We found the people amusing themselves in various sports and pastimes, and the priests just ready to begin a service, which was delayed only till Alessio should arrive. At length he entered and the church was soon crowded with people, each of whom, as he came in, paid adoration to a dirty picture of the saint placed in triumph on a frame in the middle of the aisle: this he kissed with great reverence, crossing him both before and after the ceremony. So much had this painting suffered from the lips of its admirers that scarcely a feature could be traced upon the canvass. The women were as usual concealed from public view by the lattice-work of the gallery. Various mummeries were now exhibited at the great altar which stands at the east end of the church before the Holy of Holies, a place venerated like the adytum of an ancient temple, through the apertures of which the priests ran in and out, like puppets in a show, dressed in their most gaudy habiliments: the Kyrie Eleeyson was sung and a few psalms chaunted, during which process boys in surplices came up to receive our contributions, swinging incense in brazen censers till the whole church was filled with smoke: this custom is observed as some say on account of its grateful odour and utility in a hot climate, or, according to others, to drive away demons and evil spirits:

Λύχνων γὰρ ὀσμὰς ὁ φιλᾶσι δαίμονες*.

My friend and myself put each a dollar into the chalice, for which we received three puffs of frankincense; but Signore Alessio, who contributed a whole handful of sequins, was literally enveloped in a cloud. Other chaunts were afterwards sung in honour of different saints, and at the conclusion of each the chalice for contributions was brought round with the censer as before: these worthies however were enriched only with a few paras. So ridiculous and absurd are the mummeries of

* Plat. Com. in Athen. lib. x. p. 442.

Greek worship within their churches, that in all probability nothing but Mahometan austerity prevents them from practising more nonsense in public than their catholic brethren of the west. The Turks indeed hold the Greek rites in the utmost contempt, and their picture-worship in perfect abhorrence, their own faith being intimately connected with the spirituality of the Deity, of whom they cannot endure any corporeal representations. I once had a conversation with a most respectable Turkish agà upon this subject, who assured me that if the "Greek dogs" were not such idolaters he should have some respect for them, but when he saw them led by such ignorant and sordid impostors as he knew their priests to be, he could not possibly restrain his indignation and contempt. He then asked me why the English Franks never bowed down to kiss pictures, and why they did not cross themselves? and when I explained to him some of the chief articles of the Protestant faith and the discipline of our church, which discards all ceremonies that tend to debase the mind, and retains those only which are necessary to add dignity to religious worship, he exclaimed that all this was very good (καλὰ καλὰ); but that we were no more Christians than he was; meaning to pay us the greatest compliment in his power.

Certainly the Greek priests exert very few endeavours to enlighten their countrymen, whose ignorance and credulity is the source from which they derive the greatest part of their revenues. They teach their flocks therefore just as much of Christianity as is necessary for their craft, instruct them more in legends and miracles of saints than in the life and doctrines of their Saviour, inculcate a lively faith in purgatory, with the efficacy of masses, crossings, and the tedious repetition of prayers, just as if divine like human charity could be forced by sturdy importunity: hence attendance upon ceremonious institutions counterbalances the neglect of religious duties, and the people, unimpressed with the true stamp of devotion, possess a most adulterated system, not only of faith, but of morality. I trust however that the time is not far distant when these abominations shall cease for ever.

The Greek clergy of Ioannina are very numerous and many of them very poor: some follow various kinds of professions, but especially husbandry and fishing: these are distinguished from the laity only by a high round cap and beard flowing over the breast: they despise the tonsure as an innovation of the Latin church. A priest is only allowed to marry once, and his wife must be a virgin: if he marries a second time he is silenced, and is termed an apopapas. The monks or caloyers are bound by a vow of continency, and from them the bishops and other dignitaries of the church are generally selected. The Archbishop of Ioannina is appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the recommendation of the vizir: he has four suffragan bishops under him, viz. of Vellas (or Konizza), Argyro-Castro (or Drinopolis), Delvino, and Paramithia. His jurisdiction is very limited, for Ali Pasha will permit neither priests nor laity to possess more power than is absolutely necessary within his dominions.

CHAPTER V.

Difficulties which occur to the Writer of Ali Pasha's early History—Prefatory Remarks respecting the Country called Albania and its Inhabitants—Ali's Birth-place and Family—His Situation at the Death of his Father—Character of his Mother—Ali's Education—His Mother and Sister carried off by the Gardikiotes—Ali's first Attempts at Warfare and various Success—His Adventures in the Mountains of Mertzika—Throws off his Dependence on his Mother—Turns Kleftes—Taken by Kourt Pasha and released—Again turns Kleftes—Taken by the Pasha of Ioannina but released—Is again attacked by Kourt, but succeeds in gaining his Favour—His Adventures at Berat—Enters into the Service of the Pasha of Negropont—Gains Wealth and attempts to seize upon Argyro-Castro, but fails—Takes Libochobo, &c.—Destroys the Town of Chormovo—Attacks the Pasha of Delvino whom he assassinates, but is driven from the Place—Is made Lieutenant to the Derven-Pasha—His Conduct makes the Pasha lose his Head—Serves against the Russians—Enters into Correspondence with Potemkin—Gains the Pashalic of Triccala—Attacks Ioannina—Gains a Battle over the Beys—Succeeds by Stratagem in taking the City—Appointed by the Porte Derven Pasha of Rumelia—Conquers the Pasha of Arta—Takes Klissura, Premeti, Ostanizza and Konitza, and secures the Course of the Voïussa from Mount Pindus to Tepeleni.

HAVING proceeded thus far in the journal of our residence at Ioannina, during the course of which I have been necessarily led to bring forward many characteristic traits as well as some political and

domestic anecdotes relating to its celebrated ruler, I am induced to think that a more regular and detailed account of the adventurous life of this extraordinary man, in which the causes of his uncommon success may be connected with their effects, will not prove an unacceptable document to the generality of my readers. The earlier parts of this wild romantic history never can be very accurately and authentically described, since they rest almost entirely upon oral traditions, or accounts which have been compiled from those traditions after a long intervening time: and though I have perused probably fifty of such records, yet I never met with two that agreed with each other, either in the relation of facts or the development of motives. In all such cases it is necessary to be well acquainted with the character of the persons from whom we receive information, and to know what opportunities they themselves have enjoyed of acquiring it. For my own part, I found no persons more able or more willing to impart this information than the old Albanian governors of cities, fortresses, and seraglios which we visited in our excursions through the country: these men were the early friends of Ali in his youth, sharers of his toils, and partners of his success: still even their accounts are subject in a great degree to exaggeration from vain-glory, and their chronological arrangement to disorder from defect of memory: the errors therefore that proceed from these sources must be corrected by a careful and discriminating comparison of written documents*, as well as from the observations of those persons who have had the good fortune to view and sagacity to connect the chain of political events, in the secluded seats of literature and science. On one occasion, which will be hereafter mentioned, I was fortunate enough to gain some elucidation of Ali's early history from the chief actor in its scenes: had I been a greater adept in the

* I met with a detailed account of the Life of Ali Pasha written by an Albanian poet in Romaic verse, and procured a transcript of it from some of Signore Psalida's scholars; but the young rogues, in their hurry to get the reward, wrote it in so confused and illegible a hand that it has been of little or no service to me in my labours.

Romaic language, I should not have despaired of receiving an authentic detail of the whole from his own mouth. The latter portion of his history, after its hero had established a name, and connected his dominions in political union with surrounding nations, offers itself much more advantageously to investigation and research.

However before we enter upon the biographical part of this memoir it will not be irrelevant if we take a cursory view of that curious and warlike people, whose valour formed the basis of their chieftain's aggrandizement, and still remains the bulwark of his power. But in this description it will be necessary for the reader to bear in mind that the character of this people is referred back a few years, to that time when the Albanian, like the Indian hunter, stalked free and lawless over his native mountains. His peculiar habits, manners, and customs have been considerably altered by the despotic sway and consolidated power of Ali Pasha: though the general elements of his character may remain the same, yet the strong collision of external circumstances has worn down many rough points and prominent features in its configuration.

The country now called ALBANIA is extremely difficult of definition. It was originally confined to the little district of Albanopolis*, (now Albassan) in Southern Illyricum or that region which was afterwards denominated *New Epirus*. From this insignificant origin, the courage and increase of its inhabitants, shewn especially during the weak disorderly reigns of the Byzantine emperors, have extended the limits, or rather the name of ALBANIA over greatest part of Illyricum and Epirus; so that in the present day it borders to the north upon Bosnia, to the east upon Macedonia and Thessaly, to the south upon

* Ptolemy the geographer, who flourished in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus is the first upon record who makes mention of it. Αλβάνων Αλβανόπολις· l. iii. c. 12. Dion Cassius enumerating the Roman conquests in Asia Minor, makes mention of Albania and calls it Αλβανίαν τὴν ἐκεῖ, as if in contradistinction to an Albania elsewhere.

Acarnânia and the Ambracian Gulf, to the west upon the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic; though the Albanians by no means form the chief population within these limits, being interspersed with numerous tribes of Servians, Bulgarians, Valachians, Osmanlis, and Romaic or modern Greeks: so that in the same town it is not uncommon to hear spoken the Turkish, Romaic, Bulgarian, Valachian, and Albanian languages, and sometimes a patois, or mixture of them all. Albania is not unfrequently divided into Upper and Lower, though the boundary line of these divisions is very undefined: they might perhaps with greater propriety be styled Illyrian and Epirotian Albania. The districts which are generally acknowledged in the country are as follow. Scutari, Upper and Lower Dibra, Croia, Dulcigno, Duratzo, Tiranna, Albassan, Ochri, Avlona, Berat, Musachia, Desnitza, Scrapari, Koritza, Kolonia, Konitza, Dangli, Toskaria, Malacastra, Arberi or Liapuriá, Argyro-Castro, Kimarra, Delvino, Liutzaria, Zogorià, Palaio-Pogojanni, Ioannina, and Tzamouria: to which might now be added Arta, and Luro, since as many Albanians are settled in these provinces as in most of the others abovementioned.

With regard to the origin of this people, who lay as it were dormant so many centuries, "occulto velut arbor ævo," during the incursions of the barbarians by whom at various times the Eastern Empire was overrun*, history is quite silent; all is left to conjecture, and conjecture itself has in this instance but slight grounds for the formation of an hypothesis. Their language being entirely oral, no written documents can remain to aid us in our researches. In the opinion of Col. Leake, than whom few persons are better able to judge, they are the descendants of some ancient Illyrian nation, preserved by their mountain barriers from the intermixture of Goths, Huns, Sclavonians, and other invading tribes who settled in the country; and the only

* From the time of Ptolemy the geographer till the 11th century I believe they are not mentioned by any historian.

hypothesis which seems able to stand against this, refers them to an emigration of Asiatic Albanians, concerning whom Strabo has left us a copious narrative, wherein some traits of character curiously coincide with these Europeans, modified by the inventions of modern science and the introduction of different religious rites.

The features of the Albanian, his narrow forehead, keen grey eye, small mouth, thin arched eyebrow, high cheek bones, and pointed chin, give him a very marked Scythian physiognomy; but as I am ignorant of the language [which by the best judges is considered a dialect of the Sclavonic with an intermixture of many other tongues], and have no other data of any consequence, I feel myself unqualified to offer any opinion upon this point. The name of ALBANIANS seems to have been taken from Ptolemy by the Byzantine writers*; for the Turks call them ARNAOUTS, whilst their appellation in their own language is SKYPETARS, their country SKYPERI, and their dialect SKYP. They are divided into four great tribes, or clans, called DGEDGES, TOSKIDES, LIAPIDES, and TZIAMIDES†. The first of these occupy the northern districts of Scutari, Dibra, Dulcigno, and Durazzo. The second dwell in the great plains of Albassan, Musakia, and Malacastra, stretching from the hills of Durazzo to Berat and Avlona, and along the banks of the Voïussa, or Aous, to Tepeleni and Klissura (the ancient Fauces Antigoneæ), and from thence to the boundaries of Koritza eastward. The third are a race of wild mountaineers spread over the country between Toskerià and the great plain of Delvino, bounded by the Ionian sea: they are so dirty in their habits and so addicted to plunder that the derivation of their name is commonly referred to the Lapithæ of antiquity. The fourth tribe ex-

* The titles given them by the Byzantine historians are Ἀλβάνοι, Ἀρβάνοι, Ἀλβανῖται, Ἀρβανῖται, Ἀλβανῆτες, &c.

† Called by the Romaic writers, Γκέγκίδες, Τόσκιδες, Λιάπιδες, Τζιάμιδες. The Albanian pronunciation, according to Colonel Leake, whom I consider as the best authority, is NGEGE, TOSKE, LIAPE, TZAMI. There are many subordinate tribes, most of which the reader may see in the map.

tends over that part of ancient Thesprotia which lies chiefly to the south of the river Kalamas or Thyamis, comprehending Philates, Margariti, and the Cassopæan mountains. In all these tribes there are certain shades of difference with regard to language and manners, that render it possible for a native to distinguish them from each other: but the principal traits of the Albanian character seem to have remained unaltered since the time of Alexius Comnenus*, when they begin to be noticed by historians as a hardy and nomad, but cruel, rapacious, and insubordinate people. After the death of the great Scanderbeg, when the Albanians, who had made a most brave resistance, fell beneath the Ottoman yoke, an innovation was introduced into their religious faith: till this time they at least professed Christianity, however uninstructed they might have been in its peculiar tenets and doctrines: the progress of apostacy however was at first very slow, and the religion of Mahomet did not gain many adherents till about the end of the sixteenth century: at this time a law was promulged which secured their estates in the possession of all those Albanian families who should bring up one of their members in the Mahometan faith. This had the double effect, of keeping the country more clear of Osmanli settlers than the rest of Turkey, and of soon transferring the chief property into the hands of the new proselytes. At various times however whole villages, towns, or districts, for political advantages, have voluntarily renounced the religion of their ancestors; and these instances occur not unfrequently at the present day. Yet the Albanian Mahometan is not more observant of doctrines, rites, and ceremonies under his new law than he was under his old one, and is looked upon with great contempt by the rigid Osmanli. He frequently takes a Christian woman to his wife, carries his sons to mosque, and

* Ὁι τὰς Δεαβόλεις νεμόμενοι Αλβανὸι νομάδες. L. ii. c. 55. Αλβανὺς ὁι περὶ Θετταλίαν οἰκοῦσιν αὐτονόμοι νομάδες. L. ii. c. 24. Ὁι τὰ ὀρεινὰ τῆς Θετταλίας νεμόμενοι Αλβανὸι ἀβασίλευτοι, &c. L. ii. c. 28. Ἐυχερεῖς ὄντες πρὸς μεταβολὰς καὶ φύσει νεωτεροποιοὶ. Cantacuzeni, Hist. l. ii. c. 32. sub init.

allows his daughters to attend their mother to church; nay, he even goes himself alternately to both places of worship, and eats with his family out of the same dish, in which are viands forbidden to the disciples of Mahomet. Very few of them undergo the rite of circumcision: hence when the pasha, in a fit of religious zeal, has sent sheiks to perform the operation throughout certain districts, many of the adults have died in consequence. They are in general too poor to avail themselves of the licence which their religion grants for polygamy, but are content with one wife, who is chosen, like any other animal, more for a slave or drudge than for a companion: they are by no means jealous of their women, nor do they confine them like the Turks and Greeks. The wretched creature of a wife, with one or two infants tied in a bag behind her back, cultivates the ground and attends to the household affairs by turns, whilst her lordly master ranges over the forest in search of game, or guards the flocks, or watches behind a projecting rock with his fusil ready to aim at the unwary traveller. These women are in general hard-featured, with complexions rendered coarse by exposure to all varieties of weather, and with persons extenuated by constant toil and scanty fare. In some districts they meet with better treatment, and are found ready to share the dangers of war with the men as well as the labours of agriculture. One fault of very ill savour attaches itself to both sexes, being dirty in their habits to a proverb, and never laying aside their apparel either by day or night. Having no such conveniences as beds, they sleep on the ground, with skins or mats for covering, in the midst of filth which might turn the stomach of an Esquimaux: their huts or cabins have no chimney, but plenty of crevices are left in the roof and walls for the egress of smoke and the admission of rain. Scarcely ever is any other furniture seen than a little earthenware, with an iron pot to cook their victuals: they are far from being luxurious in their food, and intoxication is a vice of rare occurrence: yet at times they will both eat and drink immoderately, especially if it be at another person's cost:

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they are very greedy of gain and will almost starve themselves to procure money, which they readily expend in the purchase of arms: many of their tribes never lay aside their weapons, even during the time of sleep: when an Albanian is completely armed, he carries a musket over his shoulder, a pistol and an ataghan in his belt, with a narrow crooked sabre slung at his side in a manner somewhat similar to our hussars; thus equipped and shorn after the fashion of the Abantes, with his little red skull-cap on his head, his fleecy capote thrown carelessly over his shoulder, his embroidered jacket, his white camise, or kilt, and his scarlet buskins embossed with silver, he calls himself a palikar, or warrior, looks with infinite disdain upon all the world besides, and in his gait assumes that haughty strut which so strongly characterizes the nation, and which is observable, though in a less degree, amongst our own Caledonian highlanders.

A martial spirit and eager thirst after gain lead the Albanian to engage very readily in the service of foreign states*; but like the generality of mountaineers, his attachment to his native land is so strong that he will never enlist but for a limited time, and the idea of returning to his native hills alone supports him under all privations and disasters. When he serves under the beys or chiefs of his own country, his enrolment is sometimes voluntary, for the hope of booty or revenge, and sometimes purchased, in which case the pay is proportioned to the valour and merit of the individual. His school of war is one of unbridled licence more than of military discipline, of cunning more than magnanimity; and the chiefs having only an imperfect authority over their vassals, these latter will sometimes disband themselves during a campaign and return to their own homes: there they may be seen indulging in perfect indolence, stretched out in the sun to sleep, or tuning their guitars to their wild music in songs that celebrate the actions

* It would seem that the people of Epirus, like the inhabitants of Switzerland, always had a propensity for foreign mercenary warfare. Vid. Diod. Sic. vol. ii. p. 494. ed. Wessel.

of favourite chieftains or of themselves; for as their valour is stained by perfidy, so is their merit by presumption, and they delight in boasting of deeds done either in fact or imagination. The retribution of blood was in full force amongst them until the despotism of Ali Pasha put a stop to this evil as well as to that system of brigandage which made robbery a profession and removed from it every token of disgrace*.

The Albanian costume, especially that of the women, retains a singular resemblance to the antique. The abdominal system of the men seems greatly compressed by the tight ligature of the zone about their loins; this however, together with constant practice, enables them to bear long and difficult journeys on foot; and their activity in climbing rocks and mountains is quite extraordinary. In temper they are somewhat irritable, and very rarely forgive a blow: they are by no means deficient in talent and acuteness, and it is a remarkable fact that the three greatest men produced in Turkey during the present age, have all derived their origin from Albania. These are the late celebrated Vizir Mustafà Bairactar, Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt, and, the greatest of them all, the subject of this present memoir.

Tepeleni, a small town of the Toskides, situated on the left bank of the Aöus or Voïussa, soon after that river emerges from the straits of Klissura, was the birth-place of Ali about the year 1750†. Its beys held it in a kind of feudal tenure under the pasha of Berat. The family‡ of Ali, whose surname is Hissas, had been established for several centuries in this place, and one of its members, named Muzzo, having been very successful in the honourable profession of a kleftes,

* A favourite Albanian proverb says, "He that knows not how to take away another man's possessions deserves not to retain his own."

† The exact year of his birth is not known: nor can the information be procured from Ali himself, for he is always anxious to be thought younger than he really is.

‡ It is thought very probable that this family was one of those which when Albania fell beneath the Ottoman yoke changed their religious faith to retain their possessions.

or robber, secured the lordship of Tepeleni to himself and transmitted it to his descendants. Ali's grandfather, after whom he is named, was considered the greatest warrior of his age. He fell bravely fighting at the celebrated siege of Corfu, just as he had scaled the ramparts sword in hand and was animating his troops to follow his example. His sword was long kept as a relic in the armoury of Corfu, from whence it suddenly disappeared during the occupation of that island by the French. I have heard that Ali offered a large sum of money to gain possession of it, but without success. The father of our hero, named Vely Bey, was a man of humane disposition and excellent character, extremely well disposed towards the Greeks, by whose interest in the Fanar he was appointed to the pashalic of Delvino. From this post however he was subsequently removed by the intrigues of a cabal and retired to his native lordship of Tepeleni: in his misfortunes he was cruelly attacked and harassed by the neighbouring beys and agàs, chiefs of petty districts, who at that time abounded in Albania and were always engaged in a state of warfare amongst each other for the purposes of pillage, or revenge, or extension of territory. Unable to make head against his enemies, it is said that he died of grief, leaving two wives and three children, a daughter and two sons. The mother of Ali and of his sister Shaïnitza, was a woman of uncommon talents, undaunted courage, and determined resolution, but fierce and implacable as a tigress. Her first act was to get rid of her rival, whom together with her child she took off by poison, thus securing all the rights and property of her husband to Ali, who at this time was about fourteen years of age. Far from yielding under the disastrous circumstances of fortune, she armed herself with double fortitude, and rising superior to the weakness of her sex, carried a musket against her enemies in the field at the head of her faithful clan, performing all the duties both of general and soldier. In most of these enterprises she took Ali as an associate, though she kept him

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within the strictest limits of obedience. Plainly foreseeing that his security depended chiefly upon his military education, she accustomed him early to the perils of an active and romantic life, and improved his naturally strong constitution by exercise and temperance: she engaged the oldest and most faithful retainers of her family to animate his zeal by a recital of the history and exploits of his ancestors, to correct his rash impetuosity by their experience, to instruct him in all the manly exercises of an Albanian palikar, and to school him in knowledge of mankind and the arts of governing them, rather than in the lore of book-learning and science.

Ali's progress kept pace with her most sanguine hopes; and to the habits of his early life many traits in his future character may easily be traced. His great object was to secure the attachment of his Albanian clansmen: in this he completely succeeded by assiduously cultivating their society, by partaking of their dangers in war and amusements in peace, by listening to their wants, deciding their quarrels, flattering their prejudices, and imitating their customs. During his military excursions he traversed this rugged country on foot with his musket over his shoulder, and thence acquired a most useful knowledge of all the mountain fastnesses and every opening for advance or retreat: by constant intercourse with his military companions, whose histories and adventures he was accustomed to learn by heart, he so improved his naturally strong memory that on some occasions, when an old associate in the profession of kleftes has been taken and brought before him, he has astonished the culprit, before condemnation, with a recital of all the principal events of his life, and in the same manner he has enumerated the merits of those whom he has rewarded: with regard to bodily exercises, he soon became the best horseman, the swiftest runner, and the most expert marksman of his day. The old governor of Tepeleni, when we visited that place, spoke in raptures of the young bey's proficiency in these arts at an

early age, and his eyes glistened as he recounted his gallant exploits and the fine manner in which he would lead up his troops to the assault of a town.

In the mean time Ali's mother, who had resisted the attacks of her confederated enemies with various success, fell at once, by one blow of fortune, into the lowest abyss of misery. The inhabitants of Gardiki, a large town situated at no great distance from Argyro-Castro, amidst the wild mountains of Liapurià, made a secret expedition by night against Tepeleni, and succeeded in carrying off both the mother and daughter: Ali himself narrowly escaped the snare by a fortunate absence in a marauding expedition, or, as others report, by his attendance at a marriage feast. The women were carried to Gardiki, and there treated in a manner unbecoming the most rude and savage barbarians, being kept in close confinement during the day, and at night led round the city by a guard to every house in rotation, and subjected to the brutal passions of its masters. They continued more than a month in this dreadful situation, when their misfortunes excited commiseration in a bey of the family of Dosti*, whose turn it was to receive them into his dwelling. This generous man, with a few confidential servants, conducted them, at the hazard of his life, out of the city, and brought them in safety to Tepeleni, where they found the indignant Ali just preparing to attempt their liberation with a large body of troops which he had collected together. The Gardikiotes, when they discovered the flight of the captives, pursued them, but in vain; after which they returned home, and burned to the ground the mansion of their benevolent preserver.

This stain upon the honour of Ali's house was considered indelible but by blood. The authority of his mother, and the never-ceasing entreaties of his sister, who inherited all her mother's spirit (and who, as

* It is a curious circumstance that the ablest general with whom Ali ever contended, and who commanded against him in the siege of Gardiki, forty years after, was of this family, named Demir Dost or Dosti.

the old governor of Tepeleni told us, had she been a man, would have fought with Ali inch by inch for his dominions) were exerted to keep alive, within his heart, the flame of vengeance. The former on her death-bed conjured her son, with her last breath, never to rest till he had exterminated the guilty race; and the latter, in all her conversations with him, ended every speech by the expression that she never could know peace of mind, or die with satisfaction, till she had stuffed the couches of her apartment with the hair of the Gardikiote women. After a lapse of forty years the vengeance of these furies was executed to the full by Ali's stern decree—the guilty, but unfortunate Gardiki is no more, and Shaïnitza's head reclines upon the raven tresses of its daughters*.

Soon after this adventure Ali was desirous of leading forth the troops which he commanded, and of trying his strength with the enemies of his house. Naturally of an ardent temper, and impatient of controul, he burned to escape from those trammels of dependence in which he was kept by his mother, and at length extorted from her an unwilling consent that he should take the field. He was fortunate in his first attempts, but had neither troops nor money enough to prosecute his success: he was then defeated in his turn, and wandering about the country to escape his pursuers, was indebted for his safety to the benevolence and fidelity of several individuals.

On his return to Tepeleni he was received with the most indignant reproaches by his mother, who it is said threatened to clothe him in female attire, and shut him up in the harem or apartment of the women; and when, after the most ardent solicitations, he gained from her fresh supplies, and permission again to try the fortune of war, she

* The temper of this woman is said to be most cruel and inexorable. Once, when the emissaries of her brother had carried off a beautiful virgin from the town of Kalarites, to be imprisoned in his detestable harem, the women of the place formed a deputation to Shaïnitza to entreat her intercession with Ali, to restore the damsel to her disconsolate parents. Her answer to their request was, "Get ye gone. She would have married a ploughman, and now she will lead the life of a queen."

added, in the true laconic style, that she expected to see him return upon the shoulders of his troops, either as a conqueror or a corpse.

In the campaign which ensued, his evil genius at first predominated: he was defeated in battle, but in his retreat, having entered within the ruins of a deserted monastery, he there accidentally discovered a treasure that relieved him at once from his distresses, appeased the anger of his mother, and enabled him, young as he then was, to connect himself very advantageously in a matrimonial alliance. He now determined to make one last and desperate effort against his ancient foes. He raised fresh levies, and departed eager for revenge, at the head of a considerable force. In this expedition however he was accompanied both by his mother and his bride. The former still held the reins of government, endeavouring to curb the impetuosity of her son, and direct him by her counsels and experience. Still every thing appeared unavailing; the confederate beys of Argyro-Castro, Gardiki, Kaminitza, Goritza, Chormovo, and some others, brought an overwhelming army into the field; the Tepelenites were routed and dispersed amongst the mountains of Mertzika, whose barriers alone saved them from the fury of the conquerors. At this critical juncture, when the star of Hissas seemed inclined to set in darkness, Ali planned and executed a manœuvre which shews at once his sagacity and decision of character in those trying circumstances which tend to call forth all the latent energies. Himself, his mother, and his wife, were quartered in the house of some friendly partisan, amidst the remains of his little army, collected together after his defeat. Knowing that a very considerable detached portion of his enemies were also encamped lower down upon the plain, and that the chiefs of Argyro-Castro and Gardiki, the most powerful of his opponents, had retired to their respective cities, he at once determined upon his mode of action.

Leaving his bed about midnight he gave strict orders to his wife that she should keep the door of their apartment locked, and that when his mother came, according to custom, very early in the morning

to inquire after her son, she should answer that he was asleep and wished not to be disturbed. He then departed alone and unprotected, gained the camp of the confederates, and soon after the dawn of day stood in the presence of those who sought his life. Astonished at his appearance they demand the motives of his conduct; when the young chieftain with a modest but undaunted air thus addresses them: "The life and fortunes of Ali are in your hands; the honour and existence of his house depends upon your will: here I am, driven to despair: I have fought till my means are exhausted; I now throw myself into your power, and you must either destroy or support me against my enemies: but do not deceive yourselves and suppose that you would derive benefit from the death of Ali: my enemies are in fact your own, and they seek my destruction only to be enabled more easily to place the yoke upon your necks. The chiefs of Argyro-Castro and Gardiki, already too formidable for the liberty of their neighbours, will profit by my fall to gain the sovereignty of the whole district. Tepeleni, strong by nature, fortified by art, and garrisoned by my faithful Arnaouts, might, if I were supported, present an invincible barrier against their ambitious designs: but if they once gain possession of this fortress they will not only have the means of annoying their neighbours, but of securing themselves from all retaliation. Destroy me then, if you please, but be assured that my destruction will be the prelude to your own." Ali well knew that he had no danger to apprehend from thus placing himself in the power of his foes. The voluntary suppliant of an Albanian chieftain, is sure, not only of protection in his presence, but of an escort on his return: this security is accorded even to a robber, or to the greatest outcast of society. The grandeur of Ali's resolutions, his manly open countenance, the fame of his valiant deeds, the name of his family, and, above all, the jealousy which he artfully contrived to insinuate into the minds of the beys, excited in all an interest for his welfare, and determined them not only to spare his life, but to range themselves under his standard.

In the mean time his mother came as usual to his chamber door, and was answered by the wife according to her instructions. In about an hour she returned and received a similar answer: this being repeated a third time, she began to be alarmed, and suspecting that all was not right, ordered the door to be broken open. Not finding Ali within, and learning in what manner he had departed, she tore her hair, and rushing out of the house in wild disorder, took the same route her son had taken, shrieking violently, and calling upon his name till the mountains echoed with her cries. No long time elapsed before she met the object of her search returning to her presence at the head of those very troops who had espoused his cause, and whose assistance enabled him so effectually to make head against his remaining enemies, that he obtained a peace, strengthened the fortifications of his native place, and secured his family and fortune. It is from this decisive act that he dates the commencement of all his future glory.

Ali now resolved to take the management of affairs into his own hands; he no longer suffered his mother's interference in war and politics, but confined her to the apartments of the harem. Her death, which happened soon afterwards, has been ascribed by some to his jealous policy: but this accusation I totally disbelieve. From a consideration of his character and a review of his acts, one would be inclined to think that no fear of remorse, no tie of humanity, no impulse of affection, would be an obstacle to him in the perpetration of any atrocity. Yet, after all, Ali has scarcely ever shewn himself, like many oriental tyrants, wanton in the waste of cruelty: let his own interest indeed be concerned, let his safety in the remotest degree be threatened, and woe be to the victim whom he suspects, or the criminal whom he has discovered. But I cannot consent to brand his name with the crime of matricide. Crimes of the deepest dye he has committed, but the fierceness of his nature seems to relax when he is approached by the objects of natural affection; and to his children and their offspring he appears most sensibly and cordially attached. I have read in an

account which pretends to be genuine, that he shot his favourite nephew in one of the apartments of his palace of Litaritza. But mark the difference! I once spent an hour in that very apartment with Ali's chief physician waiting for an audience. This gentleman, in whose arms the young bey expired, gave me the particulars of his death, which was the consequence of a fever: he informed me that the vizir was so doatingly fond of the youth, that he could scarcely be induced to quit his bedside, and so inconsolable at his loss that he had never once entered into the room from that time to the present: and this relation was amply confirmed to me by others. I feel the more anxious to rescue Ali's fame from those unmerited aspersions, because my duty to the reader and my regard for truth will necessarily lead me to exhibit his character sometimes in very unfavourable points of view; so that I can scarcely help reproaching myself with a species of ingratitude, when I recollect the good offices and protection we received in his dominions. Such feelings however receive some alleviation from the consciousness that Ali would consider himself flattered by that picture from which an Englishman starts back in horror. In Turkey the life of man is estimated by a very different standard from our own, and those deeds which we should designate as crimes of the blackest dye, would be extolled by their perpetrator as acts of the most refined policy. Another thing, now I am upon this subject, let me be permitted to mention. In all the anecdotes relating to this extraordinary personage, no pains have been spared to sift the truth from what was false or doubtful, and to penetrate into the real motives of his actions, nor have any been introduced into these pages but such as I had the means of authenticating fully to my own satisfaction. Could the reader see but half the stories I possess respecting Ali Pasha, collected both from friends and foes, he would be convinced that I might have compiled a history of his life, in comparison with which that of Jonathan Wilde himself would have appeared like the memoirs of a Saint.

Ali being now free from all immediate danger, determined to pursue

that path which at this time frequently conducted its followers to the highest honours of the state*. He became a leader of banditti, and in his capacity of kleftes so infested the mountainous districts of Zagori and Kolonia, that Kourt Pasha of Berat took up arms to defend the country, defeated his band, and captured their chief. His youth and the beauty of his person recommended him strongly to the favour of his conqueror, who, instead of treating him like a rebel, retained him in his court and honoured him with his confidence: nor, if reports be true, was the wife of this pasha insensible to the charms of the young hero. In a war which soon afterwards broke out between Kourt and the pasha of Scutari, the most powerful of all the Albanian chieftains, Ali distinguished himself by so many acts of bravery and ingratiated himself thereby so much with the soldiery, that Kourt's hasnadar or treasurer, a man of deep policy and great experience, strongly advised his master either to put him to death or to secure his fidelity by giving him his daughter in marriage†. The first part of this counsel was incompatible with the pasha's notions of honour and his humane disposition; the second was rejected, on account of the indignity of taking a needy adventurer into alliance with one of the first families in the Ottoman empire, whose pedigree could shew at least ten individuals dignified with the title of vizir. A middle course therefore was pursued, and Ali being honourably dismissed from Berat, was sent back to his native place with presents of considerable value: the daughter of Kourt, much to her dissatisfaction, for she had seen Ali and heard of his valiant deeds, was affianced to Ibrahim Bey, whose family was equal to her own.

It was impossible for a youth of Ali's disposition to remain long inactive. Being at peace with his neighbours, and scarcely strong

* Sometimes indeed this exaltation was upon a gibbet; so true is the old adage—"Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit hic diadema."

† Exactly similar advice was given to Augustus by Mæcenas with respect to Agrippa. Τηλικαῦτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστε ἢ γαμβρόν σε γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι. Dion Cass. c. liv. 6.

enough to commence offensive operations against them, he resumed his former occupation of kleftes, and ravaging the mountains of Epirus was taken prisoner by the pasha of Ioannina. Earnest application was now made to this chieftain by his own beys, as well as by the pasha of Delvino, and some other governors of the neighbouring districts, to consign the young robber over to condign punishment, and Ali had an hair-breadth escape from death in that very capital where he was destined to reign as sovereign. The pasha long hesitated, but conceiving it more consistent with good policy in the turbulent state of his own territories and of Epirus in general, to permit his prisoner to live, he not only liberated him, but supplied him with the means of carrying on his future operations. These he employed in embodying a large band of freebooters, who committed so many depredations in the various districts of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, and rendered the country so unsafe for merchants and travellers of every description, that the Porte found it necessary to take cognizance of their outrages, and sent an order to the derven-pasha of Rumelie to attack and exterminate the offenders.

The derven-pasha at this time happened to be that very Kourt in whose service we have seen Ali once engaged. He marched against the banditti with a considerable force; but the tried courage of these wild Arnaouts, their intimate acquaintance with the mountain passes, and above all the abilities of their chief, were more than a match for the vizir, who thought it advisable to attempt by negociation what he was unable to effect by force of arms; and he accordingly desired a conference. The acuteness and natural eloquence of Ali were as conspicuous in debate as was his valour in the field. He recovered the good will and confidence of Kourt, who he knew was about to march against some rebels of the Porte, and persuaded him not only to secure his pardon at Constantinople, but to accept of his services for the war: in this his military skill and courage contributed mainly to the success of his protector, who not only represented his conduct in a most fa-

vourable light at Constantinople, but gave him a high military command at his own court. This however he did not retain long: the daughter of Kourt, who had been married against her own inclination to Ibrahim, made overtures to Ali which were answered by him with proportionate alacrity. Ibrahim soon became suspicious of their intrigues and laid a plan to surprise them in the hour of dalliance. Ali's good fortune again prevailed: he received notice of his enemy's approach, made his escape with great precipitation, and fled: a wall of great height is shewn to this day at Berat which he scaled in his flight. Arrived at Tepeleni he did not think it prudent to remain so near the powers whom he had offended; on which account he entered into the service of the pasha of Negropont, who, being a stranger, and having just entered upon his government, was glad to purchase the assistance of so experienced and brave a palikar as Ali Bey. From this engagement he reaped considerable advantages in point of wealth, which enabled him on his return to Tepeleni to commence the execution of those projects which he always meditated, and to become a robber on so extended a scale that the magnitude of his crimes should hide their natural deformity. His first attempt was too daring for his means: he endeavoured to take advantage of internal sedition in the great city of Argyro-Castro and to introduce his own troops into the place; but his designs were opposed by a momentary concurrence of all parties, and he was obliged to retreat. He next fell upon the town of Libochobo, on the other side of the plain, upon the mountain chain of Mertzika, which, being unprepared to resist him, submitted to his arms; in a similar manner Lekli, Giates, and some others were subdued. He now determined to attack the strong place of Chormovo, the inhabitants of which had irreconcilably offended him, not only because they had been amongst the earliest confederates against his family, but, as it is said, because some of its citizens instigated and accompanied the Gardikiotes in the expedition wherein they carried off his mother and sister.

His operations against this city strongly indicate the character and

disposition of the man, his settled principle of revenge, and his preference of artifice above open force. Whilst he was collecting troops for the enterprise, the Chormovites in alarm sent their two primates, named Gicca Dillos and Gicca Allio, to Tepeleni, requesting to know the cause of his threatened hostilities, and the methods by which they might be averted. Ali received the deputies with great civility, replying that he had no cause at all for hostilities against Chormovo, but merely of complaint against certain families, whom he named, and assured them that if these persons were expelled from the city, and their habitations burned, he would not molest them. The primates then returned, assembled the citizens, and gave in their report. To save their country, the families thus designated, unanimously consented to expatriate themselves, and retired to Argyro-Castro, having first received ample compensation for their houses and effects. The primates now returned to the presence of Ali, and informed him of the result. His reply was—"I am pleased with your conduct; you have shewn yourselves my friends indeed: go back to your fellow citizens, and say; that in a few days I will pay them a visit in person, and as I wish not to put them to expence, will bring with me only 200 men: in the mean time take back with you some of my people, for as yet I can scarcely trust those who have so often deceived me." Accordingly the poor primates were obliged to accept this guard of honour, and soon afterwards Ali paid them his promised visit, accompanied not by 200, but by 1200 of his best troops. He was nevertheless received with every demonstration of feigned joy, magnificently treated, and his troops put into the best quarters possible. These, however, after a lapse of four or five days, began to pick quarrels with their hosts, for which many of them were severely reprimanded, and even punished by their hypocritical master, who asked how they dared to insult the good people of Chormovo, his excellent friends, who had invited him so kindly into their city? Soon afterwards he called the principal inhabitants together, and thus addressed them: "My good friends, I feel greatly for your situation, as my residence amongst you must embarrass your

finances: I will therefore relieve you by retiring, with the greatest part of my attendants, to the monastery of Tribuchi*, where you shall come to me, that we may draw up and sign articles of friendship and alliance."

Accordingly, to the convent he went, and next day about one hundred of the principal citizens were summoned to attend the conference. The treaty, for the appearance of greater solemnity, was to be drawn up and signed in church, and the hegumenos, or prior, in full robes, was seen standing at the great altar with all due preparations for its formal execution. It is a custom with the Greeks never to enter into a place of religious worship armed: they unfortunately, therefore, deposited their weapons at the church door as they advanced towards the priest; and these were all seized immediately by Ali's orders. In the mean time the solemn farce of the treaty was acting at the high altar, when one of the Chormovites having occasion to quit the church, perceived the seizure of the arms, and ran back to his friends, crying out—"that the priest might stop proceedings, for the infidel had betrayed them." His troops then rushed in, tied them together with ropes, and dispatched them to Tepeleni: they then marched, under the conduct of Ali, and fell upon Chormovo itself, massacred a great multitude of its unfortunate inhabitants, sold the women and children into slavery, and razed the town down to the ground. Having taken one man, the head of a family named Prifti, particularly obnoxious to Ali, he ordered a spit to be run through his body, and roasted him alive: it is asserted by many that he performed the inhuman office of executioner with his own hands: but this is not true; it was done by his foster-brother, named Usuf-Araps, the son of a black slave in his father's harem.

By this horrid act of vengeance he spread a terror of his name

* Dedicated to the Panagia, in the mountains, only a short distance from Chormovo.

throughout the surrounding tribes, many of whom submitted without resistance to his power. Being now comparatively wealthy, he began to practise that art to which he owes so many of his subsequent successes, the art of bribery. By means of his emissaries at Constantinople he procured a commission for attacking Selim Pasha of Delvino, who, for some reason or other, was obnoxious to the Porte, and made himself secure of being appointed to the vacant pashalic. Resorting to his favourite measures of deceit, he carried with him only a small band of troops, under pretence of flying from his enemies: with these he was received into Delvino, and gained the confidence of the unsuspecting Selim. He then contrived to surround him with his own creatures, fomented cabals amongst the officers and soldiers of his guard, and at length assassinated the pasha and arrested his son, whom he carried off, when the people of the city rose upon him with indignation and compelled him to retreat. They were however obliged to ransom his prisoner for a large sum of money, which at this particular crisis very materially contributed to the aggrandizement of the captor: for a new Derven-Pasha of Rumelie having been just appointed, Ali, by aid of large bribes, was nominated his lieutenant. In this post he determined to pursue his favourite maxim—"Get money, and that will procure all things." Instead of attempting to clear the district of banditti, he traded in licences, which he sold regularly to the kleftes, receiving not only a certain sum, but a share of the booty they might obtain. These worthies now pursued their course with such unbridled insolence and rapacity, that in a short time the country became quite impassable, and the Pasha being recalled, lost his head at Constantinople, for the fault of his lieutenant. Ali himself was obliged to expend a great share of his illicit gains to secure his indemnity; but so high did his character now stand for bravery and success, that in the year 1787, when war broke out between Turkey and the allied powers of Austria and Russia, he was invited to

fill an important command in the army of the Grand Vizir, Usouf: under this general he behaved with great gallantry, and was considered one of the most promising officers in the Ottoman service.

An event however occurred in this campaign which led to the early development of his ambitious views. His favourite nephew Mahmoud, whom I have before alluded to, was taken prisoner by the Russians. It is said, and I believe with truth, that in the negociations which ensued respecting his release between Ali and Potemkin, each of these ambitious men contrived partially to discover their particular projects of aggrandizement to the other. Certain it is that an interchange of presents took place, and a regular correspondence between them was commenced, from which Ali entertained strong hopes of being acknowledged sovereign of Epirus when his friend should be seated upon the throne of Constantinople. This correspondence which Potemkin held with Ali, as well as with many other Greek and Turkish chieftains, became known to Catherine and probably precipitated his fate.

Ali now employed the wealth which he possessed and the credit he had gained by his military talents, in procuring for himself the government of Triccala* in Thessaly, to which he was nominated by the Porte with the title of pasha of two tails. The situation of Triccala was peculiarly adapted to his views. It commands the passage of merchandise from Ioannina to Constantinople, and whoever possesses this country can stop all supplies of corn from the fertile plains of Thessaly, upon which the pashalic of Ioannina frequently depends for the support of its population. Here then he planted himself at a time when anarchy and confusion reigned in the last mentioned city. The authority of its pasha was at best almost nominal: its turbulent and powerful beys were not

* It has succeeded in site and almost in name to the ancient Tricca, concerning which vid. Strab. lib. ix. p. 437. Iliad, β. 729.

only in rebellion against him, but engaged in the most fierce and implacable quarrels amongst themselves. I have been assured by most respectable people in Ioannina who remembered those times, that it was frequently unsafe for a person to stir out into the public streets. Each head of a party had converted his house into a species of fortress, from whence his adherents used to fire upon their opponents if they approached too near; the most atrocious murders were daily committed in open day, till the very bazar itself became almost deserted: at this time however, the pasha was dead, and every rival chieftain was caballing to succeed him.

Ali employed all the agents in his power to promote these dissensions and to increase the public distress. When he thought affairs were ripe enough for his presence, he collected a considerable number of troops, passed the chain of Mount Pindus and made his appearance on the plains to the north of Ioannina. This manœuvre caused great consternation in the city: the beys, in imminent danger, stifled their enmity towards each other, joined their forces together, and advanced to meet the invader. In a great battle which was fought at the head of the lake, they were beaten and driven back into the city by Ali, who encamped before it with his victorious troops. Not being strong enough to attempt it by storm, he employed a surer method for success. He had already gained a considerable number of adherents amongst the Greeks in the city, and especially in the district of Zagori: these by bribery and large promises he engaged to enter into his views and send a deputation to Constantinople to solicit for him the pashalic. They acted as he requested; but the opposite interest proved too strong for them at the Porte, and they were made the bearers of an order to their principal to retire immediately to his own government and disband his troops. One of the deputies, most attached to his interest, rode forward night and day, to give him early information of the failure of their mission, and on this occasion Ali executed one of those strokes of po-

licy which have given him such advantage over the imbecility of the Ottoman Porte. After a short consultation with his friend, he dismissed him to return and meet the deputies, who waited a few days on the road, and then proceeded straight to Ioannina. The beys, to whom its contents had been already intimated, advanced as far as the suburbs to meet the firman. It was produced and drawn out of its crimson case; when each reverently applied it to his forehead, in token of submission to its dictates. It was then opened, and to the utter consternation of the assembly it announced Ali, pasha of Ioannina, and ordered instant submission to his authority.

The forgery was suspected by many, but some credited it; whilst others, by timely submission, sought to gain favour with the man who they foresaw would be their ruler: in short, his partisans exerted themselves on all sides, the beys were dispirited, and whilst they were irresolute and undetermined, Ali entered the city amidst the acclamations of the populace: his chief enemies in the mean time sought their safety by flight, passing over the lake and taking refuge in the districts of Arta, Etolia and Acarnania.

Ali's first care was to calm the fears of all ranks: to the people he promised protection, to the beys who remained rich offices and plunder: his friends were amply recompensed, and his enemies reconciled by his frankness and engaging affability: in the mean time he put a strong garrison into the castron or fortress, and thus acquired firm possession of the pashalic before the imposture of the firman was discovered. It was now too late to dispossess him of his acquisition: his adherents increased daily, a numerous and respectable deputation, led by Signore Alessio's father, carried a petition to Constantinople, and seconding it with bribes to a large amount ultimately prevailed in establishing his usurped dominion. Thus, according to custom, despotism succeeded to the turbulence of faction, and the people not unwillingly submitted to the change.

Soon afterwards Ali obtained from the Porte the important office of Derven-Pasha of Rumelie, which not only materially increased his revenue but gave him the means of creating an influence in many provinces of the Turkish empire. That proud family which had formerly rejected his alliance now gladly accepted his overtures, and Ibrahim pasha of Berat affianced his three daughters to the two sons of Ali, and his favourite nephew Mahmoud.

Having thus established his interest on a firm footing as well in Constantinople as Albania, and wielding the resources of an extensive dominion, he began to act upon a larger scale, and to pursue his grand plan of consolidating an independent power in Epirus, a country which nature herself seems to have marked out for independence by the impregnable mountain barriers with which she has surrounded and protected it. The means which he resolved to take for the completion of this plan, were to amass treasures, to keep agents in pay at the Ottoman court, to infuse suspicion of other powers into the minds of the Divan, to render himself useful to whatever European state was most able to return his services, and finally to seize upon the property of his neighbours whenever and by whatever methods he could. In the execution of these measures, his rapacity has been boundless, his penetration deep, his aggressions innumerable, his perfidy more than Punic, but his success complete.

After the projects of Russia with regard to Greece had failed, and all confidence in that power was lost by the insensible and cruel conduct of its agents, Ali's enemies at Constantinople endeavoured to undermine his credit, by disclosing as much as they knew or suspected of his correspondence with Potemkin: fertile however in expedients, and fearful of a rupture with his sovereign, he found means to counteract these plots, and allay the coming storm, principally, as it is asserted, by the good offices of the French minister at the Porte, whom he contrived to engage in his interests. Being now secure in his most important posi-

tion he soon found a pretext for quarrelling with his neighbour the Pasha of Arta, conquered his territories, and annexed them, as well as the whole of Acarnania, to his own dominions. Thus he secured the free navigation of the Ambracian Gulf and gained possession of many valuable ports in those districts. His next step was to open a free and safe intercourse between Ioannina and his native territory of Tepeleni. To this end he attacked and took possession of the strong post of Klissura, where the Aous or Voïussa enters that deep defile called the Fauces Antigoneæ, or Stena Aoi, which was occupied by Philip in the first Macedonian war, where he stopped the advance of the Roman legions, until the key of his position being betrayed to Flaminius by a shepherd of Charopus he was driven from this strong post and obliged to evacuate Epirus*. The occupation of Klissura was followed by the reduction of Premeti, Ostanizza and Konitza, all capitals of most important districts which secured the whole course of the Voïussa from its source in Mount Pindus as far as Tepeleni.

We have now traced the course of this extraordinary personage by that imperfect light which his early annals afford, from his infancy to the time when he fixed his seat in the Great Despotate of Epirus. One would have thought that this success might have satisfied the am-

* His occupation of this pass is thus described by Livy, lib. xxxii. c. 5. "Principio veris (Philippus) cum Athenagora omnia externa auxilia, quodque levis armaturæ erat, in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas, quæ ad Antigoniam Fauces sunt (Stena vocant Græci) misit. Ipse post paucis diebus graviore secutus agmine, quum situm omnem regionis aspexisset, maxime idoneum ad muniendum locum credidit esse præter amnem Aoum: is inter montes, quorum alterum Æropum, alterum Asnaum incolæ vocant, angusta valle fluit, iter exiguum super ripam præbens." The mountains forming the defile are now called, those on the north side Trebechina and Mejourani, those on the south Melchiovo. The defile is about ten miles in length from Klissura (which from the remains of Cyclopéan masonry observable there I take to have been Antigonea) to the junction of the Aous with the river of Argyro-Castro, above Tepeleni. The precipices on each side are tremendous, being apparently more than a thousand feet in perpendicular height. The positions of Philip and Athenagoras must have been about mid-way in the defile, as Flaminius, when he arrived at the Aous with his army is said by Livy to have encamped at the distance of five miles from the Macedonians. (cap. 6.) Many persons have fixed upon Premeti, about twelve miles higher up the Aous, for Antigonea; but I am confirmed in my opinion of its being succeeded by Klissura, from a passage of Polybius, who speaks of these straights as being close to Antigonea: διὰ τῶν παρ' Ἀντιγόνειαν στενῶν. l. ii. c. 5.

bition of an Albanian kleftes! but ambition's path is deceitful as the mountain, which tempts the traveller's ascent to its false summit, and then exhibits to his view another equally precipitous and lofty, to which it served but as a base.

The remainder of his history, when it became connected with European politics and important enough to engage the attention of his contemporaries, offers itself much more readily to historic elucidation.

Plain of Paramithia and Course of the Acheron.

CHAPTER VI.

Account of the Suliots—Country, Government, Habits, Manners, and Customs—Ali's first Attempts against them—His Stratagem—How defeated—Anecdote of Tzavella and his Son—Ali attacks Suli—Desperate Resistance of the Suliots—Heroine Mosco—Ali's Defeat and Flight to Ioannina—Peace concluded—Ali's Policy with regard to foreign Powers, and his own Government—French Occupation of the Ionian Islands—Ali's Intrigues with Bonaparte—Attends the Grand Vizir against Paswan Oglou—War between Turkey and France—Ali takes Advantage of it—Ionian Isles pass under the Protection of Russia—Ali takes all the Continental Dependencies except Parga—Terms on which these are conceded to the Porte—Ali, for his Services, is made Rumelie-Valisee, with the Title of Vizir—Commences a second War with the Suliots—Interprets the Prophecies of the Koran to encourage his Adherents—Leads his Troops against Suli—Joined by the Traitor Botzari—Bad Success in several Engagements—Turns the Assault into a Blockade.

WHILST Ali was extending the limits of his sway towards the north, the southern districts of his dominions were subjected to the incursions of a clan, contemptible to all appearance for their numbers, but impregnable in their mountain-holds, and capable, by their daring courage and enthusiastic love of liberty, of attacking him in his capital, and alarming him in the very recesses of his harem. These were the Suliots: a people which sustained the character of ancient Greece, and assumed the spirit of its independent sons. Their abode was like the dwelling of a race of genii, upon a kind of natural citadel, amidst the wild Cassopæan mountains, where the Acheron rolls down a dark and truly infernal chasm, overhung with rocks and woods of deepest gloom. The high peaks of precipices bounding this mysterious glen were surmounted by fortified towers, whilst the paths leading to the impending heights above scarcely admitted two persons to walk abreast. During the worst eras of Grecian slavery, the flame burned bright upon this hill-altar of liberty, and its worshippers breathing a purer air, and excited as it were by those stupendous energies of nature which they constantly had in view, preserved their physical and moral strength unimpaired, not only defying tyranny, but pouring down from their rocky fastnesses over the plains of the oppressor, and carrying off that booty which was considered as their lawful property. At Suli the rebellion was planned, under Lambro Canziani, to liberate Greece from the Ottoman yoke, and the conspirators had their head-quarters in these impregnable fastnesses.

Four large villages constituted the principal seats of this independent clan, in a situation so singular, as probably to be unique*. They lay upon a fine concave plain at the perpendicular height of about 2000 feet above the bed of the Acheron; a grand natural breast-work descended precipitously to the river; whilst behind them rose a tower-

* The distance of Suli from Ioannina is 14 hours; from Prevesa 18; from Arta 14; from Parga 8; from Margariti 6; from Paramithia 8.

ing chain of mountains, at once an ornament and defence. The Acheron, after passing through the valley of Dervitziana, first enters the Suliot chasm, where it is called the Gorge of Skouitias, from a small village of that name: a narrow path, which winds amidst the darkest woods upon the right bank, conducts the traveller in about two hours to a narrow cut across his path, called Klissura, admirably calculated to stop the progress of an enemy. This defile was commanded by a fort called Tichos, and near it was the first village of the Suliot republic, called Navarico or Avarico. From hence a gradual ascent leads to the deserted site of Samoniva; thence to Kiaffa, signifying a height, and lastly to Suli, the capital of the tribe, which was generally styled Kako-Suli, like the Κακοίλιον of Homer, from the difficulties it opposed to a conqueror. Near the spot where the mountain-path leaves the side of the Acheron, to wind up the precipices between Kiaffa and Kako-Suli, a conical hill overhangs the road, called Kunghi, on which stood the largest of the Suliot fortresses, named Aghia Paraskevì*, or Saint Friday. At the same spot another small river, flowing from the Paramithian mountains, joins the Acheron, which, descending down the romantic defile of Glykì, enters the great Paramithian plain, and empties itself, after flowing through the Acherusian lake, into the Ionian sea, near the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre. (See the plan at the head of this chapter.)

Such was the situation of the Suliot republic: no vestiges of any ancient cities have been discovered within its boundaries, nor is it clear to what tribe of former ages they have succeeded, though the Selli of Homer apparently offer the fairest claim to pre-occupation of the soil†. The date of the Suliot settlement on these mountains is

* Παρασκευὴ and Κυριακὴ, i. e. Friday and Sunday, are among the common names given to the Greek girls.

† Homer certainly places the Selli somewhere in this neighbourhood, in the 16th book of the Iliad, l. 233.

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωνᾶιε, Πελασγικὲ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ νάιουσ' ὑποφῆται, ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαεῦναι·

And these very Selli appear to have taken their name, or given it, to the river Acheron, the identical

referred by tradition to the middle of the 17th century, when some goat and swine-herds having led their animals to feed upon the heights of Kiaffa, were struck with the eligibility of the situation, and occupied it with their families.

As the population of this small and humble colony increased, it attracted the attention of its neighbours, and sustained many wars with the beys of Paramithia and Margariti, as well as the pashas of Ioannina and Arta. In all these however it was defended by the inaccessible nature of its rocky site, whilst the determined bravery of its citizens enabled it to wrest numerous possessions from the hands of its opponents, and to extend the limits of its sway far beyond the boundaries of its original territory. Before their first war with Ali Pasha, the Suliots possessed sixty-six villages, all conquered by their arms. The citizens of the republic were classed in divisions called faras: each fara contained a certain number of families, and was commanded by its own chief or captain. Of these

Kako-Suli contained	19 faras	and	425 families.
Kiaffa - - - - - - - -	4 —	and	60 —

river of Suli, in very early times. See a passage in Homer's Catalogue, v. 166, where the poet says that Hercules carried off Astyochéa out of the city of Ephyre, from the river Σελλήεις·

Τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης ποταμῶ ἀπὸ Σελλήεντος·

Strabo, indeed, places Ephyre and this river in Elis, where I find no mention made of such by Pausanias or any other author: but the Scholiast intimates the probability of this being the Thesprotian Ephyre, which is frequently mentioned by Homer under this appellation, or that of Cichyrus: and Strabo himself, unconsciously enough, gives good reasons for agreeing with the Scholiast: for he says, that the expeditions of Hercules were frequent in this region, and that it was celebrated for poisons: now we know, that Hercules was the friend and guest of Aidoneus or Pluto, king of the Molossi, who reigned in this neighbourhood, from whom he liberated his friend and companion Theseus; and Homer has particularly distinguished this Ephyre for its production of poison, making Ulysses go there for the very purpose of procuring it.

Ὤιχετο γὰρ κἀκεῖσε θοῇς ἐπὶ νηὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὄφρά οἱ εἴη
Ἰὸς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας. Od. α. 260.

With regard to the names of Σελλοὶ and Σελλήεις, I know not whence they are derived; but it is probable that they may allude to some religious rites. Eustathius, in his Commentary upon Homer, observes, that wherever there was an Ephyre, there was also a river named Σελλήεις.

Avarico contained	3 faras	and	55 families.
Samoniva - - - - -	3 —	and	30

When the inhabitants of these towns increased beyond the means of support, seven were selected out of their sixty-six tributary villages, to which they sent colonies of native Suliots, who were exempted from paying either forced contributions, or the regular tribute, which was a tenth of all produce. Thus in the village called Tzicuri five faras were settled; in Pericati two; in Villa two; in Alsocori three; in Kondati one; in Gionala three; and in Tzephleki two.

The character of this people was warlike in the extreme; and martial exercises comprised almost the whole system of their education. Their chief amusements were the dance and song, the former of which contributed to increase their bodily strength, and the latter to animate their zeal and feed their national enthusiasm: they were passionately attached to their country, which, in spite of traitors who were seduced by the gold of the pasha, would probably have continued to defy his power, but for the pressure of political circumstances. They had a chosen band of 1000 palikars, all citizens of the four principal towns; but 1500 more were embodied from the seven colonies and the other dependencies, during their contests with Ali Pasha. The plan of their warfare, as was the case in ancient times, consisted more in skirmishes than pitched battles, in daring expeditions, sudden attacks, and quick retreats: great examples of heroic devotion were exhibited by individuals; and their harangues breathed in a great degree the fire and spirit of antiquity. The women of this republic were scarcely inferior to the men in bravery, or less eager to share in all the perils of war. Troops of heroines constantly attended upon the soldiers, to carry provisions and ammunition, to assist the wounded, and, if necessary, to engage in battle. The most celebrated of these amazons was Mosco, the wife of Captain Tzavella, and mother of the gallant Foto, the Hector of this

new Troy, whose name is still celebrated in many a Greek and Albanian song. Her exploits might rival those of the heroine of Zaragossa.

The Suliots had no written law, but many customs handed down from time immemorial served to regulate their conduct: judicial affairs were generally referred to the captain of the fara, or in cases of difficulty to a council of chiefs, convened from the four towns, in Kako-Suli. To animate their men the more, the women took precedence at the wells and fountains, according to the character which their husbands bore for bravery, and if a woman had the misfortune to be wedded to a coward, she was obliged ignominiously to wait till the rest had filled their pitchers. It was found that few men could endure the torrent of reproaches that was generally poured upon them at the return of their indignant spouses. The females of this republic were held in such esteem that no man was allowed, under the severest penalties, to interfere even in their quarrels, lest by accident a woman might be killed; and whoever committed such an act was put to death as a patricide, with the execrations of all the citizens. They had an extraordinary custom in their wars of sending out a small body of troops against a superior force, and, on the contrary, a large body against a small one. In the first instance, they intimidated their foes, who knew they were prepared to conquer or to die; in the latter, they were able to secure more prisoners, and gain a greater ransom for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Like the ancient Spartans, they never inquired about the numbers of an enemy, but only where that enemy might be found.

Such was the republic with which now Ali prepared to engage: without its destruction he foresaw that all his future plans must fail, since the Suliots were not only the best soldiers in the ranks of his enemies, but were possessed of the strongest hold in the very midst of his dominions, where they gave refuge to the discontented, and from whence they issued to ravage his territories whenever he was engaged;

in distant warfare. The preparations for his first expedition were made in 1792. He then assembled an army of about 10,000 men, all tried Albanian troops, giving out his intentions of attacking the town of Argyro-Castro, the beys of which had been his most inveterate enemies in the early stages of his career. Under this pretext he endeavoured to lull the Suliots into a fatal security, requesting their alliance and co-operation, with the offer of double pay and rewards proportionate to their acknowledged valour. The following is a copy of the letter which he wrote on this occasion to their two most celebrated captains, named Botzari and Tzavella.

" Φίλοίμε Καπιτᾶν Μπότζαρη καὶ Καπιτᾶν Τζαβέλλα, Ἐγὼ ὁ Ἀλῆ Πασᾶς σᾶς χαιρετῶ, καὶ σᾶς φιλῶ τὰ μάτια. Ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ξεύρω πολλὰ καλὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν σας, καὶ παλικαρίανσας, μᾶ φαίνεται νὰ ἔχω μεγάλην χρέιαν ἀπὸ λόγυσας· Λοιπὸν μὴ κάμετε ἀλλέως παρακαλῶ, ἀλλ' ἐυθὺς ὁπῶ λάβετε τὴν γραφήν μυ νὰ μαζώξετε ὅλασας τὰ παλικάρια καὶ νὰ ἔλθετε νὰ μὲ ἔυρετε διὰ νὰ πάγω νὰ πολεμήσω τὲς ἐχθρές μυ· Τέτη ἶναι ἡ ὥρα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς, ὁπῶ ἔχω χρέιαν ἀπὸ λόγυ σας, καὶ μένω γὰ ἰδῶ τὴν φιλίαν σας, καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ὁπῶ ἔχετε διὰ λόγυ μυ· Ὁ λεφές σας θέλει ἶναι διπλὸς ἀπ' ὅσον δίδω εἰς τὲς Ἀρβανίτας· διατὶ καὶ ἡ παλικαριά σας ξέρω πῶς ἶναι πολλὰ μεγαλήτερη ἀπὸ τὴν ἐδικήν τες. Λοιπὸν ἐγὼ δὲν πηγάινω νὰ πολεμήσω πρὶν νὰ ἔλθετε ἐσᾶις, καὶ σᾶς καρτερῶ ὀγλήγωρα νὰ ἔλθετε· Ταῦτα, καὶ σᾶς χαιρετῶ."

TRANSLATION.

" My friends Captain Botzari and Captain Tzavella—I, Ali Pasha, salute you and kiss your eyes. Since I am well acquainted with your courage and spirit, it appears to me that I have great need of your assistance. Wherefore I beseech you take no other resolution when you receive my letter; but assemble together all your palikars and come to meet me, that I may march to combat against my enemies. This is the very season and the time in which I need your help, and I expect to see the friendship and the love you bear towards me. Your pay shall be double that which I give to my Albanians, for I know your valour is superior to theirs. As I shall not go to war before you arrive, I entreat you to come quickly. This, and farewel."

The Captains Botzari and Tzavella called a council of their countrymen upon the receipt of this epistle. It was read before them, but very few were dupes of its artifice and insincerity. They returned for answer that their warriors were always necessary at home for the defence of their country, but that anxious to oblige his highness and secure his friendship, they had given Captain Tzavella permission to lead out seventy palikars and attend him to victory.

Ali, as soon as he received this force, that he might conceal his designs from all suspicion, began his march in the direction of Argyro-Castro, but scarcely proceeded twenty miles before he halted and encamped. On such occasions it was a custom with the Suliots to exercise themselves in running, leaping, wrestling, and other manly sports; and for this purpose, they had now unsuspectingly laid aside their arms, when orders were suddenly given to arrest them. All were immediately seized and bound with fetters, except three; two of these snatching up their weapons fought desperately till they fell covered with wounds, whilst the other, a man remarkably swift of foot, made his escape, unhurt by a thousand shots that were fired after him, swam over the river Kalamas, and directing his course to Suli, arrived in time to put his countrymen upon their guard against their insidious enemy.

In fact, the pasha made his appearance in their district the very day after, with his whole army. But finding the Suliots advised of his intentions, and fully prepared to give him a warm reception, he deferred his attack until he could try the effect of artifice and deceitful negotiation. Having ordered Captain Tzavella to be brought into his presence, he promised him the most ample rewards upon condition of his procuring the submission of the republic, with the horrible alternative of being flayed alive if his fellow-citizens continued obstinate in their opposition. "Release me from my fetters then," said Tzavella, "for my countrymen will never submit whilst I am in your power." Ali however, too wary to let his prey escape him thus,

demanded what security he would give for his return if his mission should prove unsuccessful. " My only son Foto, who is a thousand times dearer to me, and more valuable to his country, than my own life." Upon these conditions Tzavella was released, and an equal number of Albanians and Suliots met at the bottom of the mountain to exchange the prisoners.

As soon as the chief arrived in Suli he convoked all the other captains in council, explained fully the conduct and motives of the pasha, assured them that they had nothing to hope from his promises or his clemency, exhorted them to prepare for a vigorous defence, and be under no concern for him or his family, every member of which would feel a pride in sacrificing his life for the safety of his country. In the mean time he contrived to gain a delay for the purposes of defence, by protracting negotiations with the pasha; and not before Suli was armed at all points did he transmit the following letter to the tyrant.

" Ἀλῆ Πασᾶ, χάιρομαι ὁπῦ εγέλασα ἕνα δόλιον· Ἔιμαι ἐδὼ νὰ διαφεντεύσω τὴν πατρίδα μυ ἐναντίον εἰς ἕνα κλέφτην· Ὁ υἱός μυ θέλει ἀποθάνει, ἐγὼ ὅμως ἀπελπίσως θέλει τὸν ἐκδικήσω πρὶν νὰ ἀποθάνω· Κἄποιοι Τὄρκοι, καθὼς ἐσένα, θέλυν ἐιπῦν, ὅτι ειμαι ἄσπλαγχνος πατέρας, μὲ τὸ νὰ θυσίασω τὸν υἱόν μυ διὰ τὸν ἐδικόν μυ λυτρωμόν· ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι ἂν ἐσὺ πάρῃς τὸ βυνὸν, θέλεις σκοτώσει τὸν υἱόν μυ μὲ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς φαμελίας μυ, κὰι τὲς συμπατριώτας μυ· Τότε δὲν θὰ ἠμπορήσω νὰ ἐκδικήσω τὸν θανάτόν τυ· ἀμὴ ἂν νικήσωμεν, θέλει ἔχω ἄλλα παιδιά· ἡ γυνᾶικά μυ ἔιναι νέα· Ἐὰν ὁ υἱός μυ, νέος κάθὼς ἔιναι δὲν μένει ἐυχαριτημένος νὰ θυσιασθῇ διὰ τὴν πατρίδατυ, ἀυτὸς δὲν ἔιναι ἄξιος νὰ ζήσῃ, κὰι νὰ γνωρίζεται ὡς υἱός μυ, μήτε πρέπει νὰ ὀνομάζεται ἄξιος υἱὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος πατρίδος μας, ἐὰν μὲ γενναιότητα δὲν ὑποφέρει τὸν θανάτον. Προχώρησαι λοιπὸν, ἄπιστε, ἔιμαι ἀνυπόμονος νὰ εκδικηθῶ"

Ἐγὼ ὁ ὠμωσμένος ἐχθρός συ
Καπετὰν Λάμπρος Τζαβέλλας.

TRANSLATION.

" Ali Pasha, I rejoice that I have deceived a deceiver. I am here to defend my country against a robber. My son is doomed to death,

but I will desperately avenge him before I die. Some Turks, like yourself, will say that I am a merciless father to sacrifice my child for my own liberation. I answer, that if you had taken the mountain you would have massacred my son with all the rest of my family and my countrymen. In that case I could not have revenged his death. If we are victorious, I shall have other children; my wife is young. If my boy be not willing, young as he is, to sacrifice himself for his country, he is not worthy to live or to be acknowledged as a child of mine; nor ought he to be named as a worthy son of Greece, unless he can meet death with fortitude. Advance then, thou traitor, I am impatient for revenge; I, your sworn enemy,

"CAPTAIN LAMBRO TZAVELLA."

The pasha, as it may be supposed, was highly indignant at this answer and the failure of his insidious schemes. He did not however put the boy to death, but sent him to Ioannina, to be confined there with the rest of his countrymen. On his arrival he was brought into the presence of Ali's chief minister Mahomet Effendi, and his son Vely, who put his constancy to the proof by informing him that they had received the pasha's orders to roast him alive. "Have you?" replied the undaunted youth. "Then if my father conquers he will serve you the same." His heroic answer pleased Vely, who is by no means of a cruel disposition, and Foto was merely sent into confinement at one of the monasteries of the island.

In the mean time the pasha prepared to attack Suli by force of arms; though an occurrence had well nigh taken place which would have rid the Suliots at once of this dangerous enemy. A band of these brave mountaineers, to the number of 200, having learned that Ali was encamped with his body-guard alone at some little distance from his main army, marched out with a firm determination to take him, alive or dead: but the pasha was informed of the plot by a traitor to the cause, and removed his head-quarters to a place of safety: the dis-

covery however animated his fury to such a pitch that he gave orders to enter the defiles, and put his troops immediately in motion.

The Suliots were obliged to retreat before superior numbers from their southern frontiers in the district called Laka, which lies towards Arta and Prevesa. The Turks pursued them with great spirit down the valley of the Acheron, but received a check at the pass of Klissura, being there met with such volleys of musketry from the fortress of Tichos by which it is commanded, as well as from behind the rocks and precipices, that the passage became nearly choked up by their dead bodies. The pasha, who had taken his station upon one of the opposite mountains called Bogoritza, observed a strange confusion amongst his troops, and sent to inquire the cause: when it was told him he was unable to restrain his fury, but ordered the tower to be taken at any expence, offering various rewards, and one of 500 purses to that man who should first enter Kako-Suli. The Albanians now fought like lions under the inspection of their chief and upon the strength of his promises; but the pass of Thermopylæ itself could not have been more bravely defended than was Klissura by the gallant Suliots, who had this advantage on their side, that they fought under cover of the rocks, huge fragments of which were hurled down upon their assailants by the very women and children. The Albanians now fell in such numbers that the dead bodies formed, as it were, a wall between the combatants, and choked up the pass: the ammunition of the Suliots at length began to fail, their fire slackened, and fresh troops of their enemies constantly succeeding, they retired towards Kiaffa. The Turks did not wait to carry the fortress of Tichos, but leaving it in their rear, set up the yell of war and rushed after the Suliots, whilst the pasha, viewing all these actions from his position through a telescope, was already in imagination master of the capital. In this attack Pronio Agà of Paramithia, a man of great courage and gigantic stature, who was attended to the war by several of his sons, all noted warriors, highly distinguished himself: so also did Hassan Zapari, the most powerful bey of Margariti,

a large Turkish town in the district of Tzamouria. Kiaffa was soon found to be untenable by the Suliots; it was therefore deserted by all the inhabitants, who took refuge in their inaccessible mountains, whilst the troops of the republic, followed by the pasha's army, retreated towards Kako-Suli. The great fort of Aghia Paraskevì upon Kunghi, which commands the Tripa, a deep chasm between Kiaffa and the capital, was at this time so thinly garrisoned as to be unable to intercept the pursuers; and Suli would have been lost but for an act of female valour which well deserves comparison with that of Telesilla and her Argives. The heroine Mosco arming all her female warriors, rushed out of the town sword in hand, stopped the retreat of husbands and brethren, headed them in a valiant attack upon the assailants, who were nearly breathless by their pursuit up these steep acclivities, and in a moment turned the tide of war. The Albanians in their turn retreated and fled; the garrison of Paraskevì, which had received a number of fugitives, made a sally to increase their confusion; heaps of stones, which stood ready piled upon the edges of the precipices, were rolled down upon the flying foe, who were again intercepted at the foot of Tichos and almost annihilated: hundreds of dead bodies were rolled into the bed of the Acheron, whose torrent was encumbered with the slain and whose waters were dyed with blood.

Arrived at this tower Mosco discovered the body of her favourite nephew, a youth of great promise, who had been killed in the first attack of the position. Animated with a desire of vengeance at this sight, she kissed the pale lips of the corpse, and crying out, "Since I have not arrived in time to save thy life, I will yet avenge thy death," she called on the Suliots to follow her example, and led them like a tigress that has lost her whelps, against those troops of the enemy who remained about the pasha in the upper regions of the valley. These being dispirited and terrified by the fate of their companions, took immediately to flight, and were pursued by the victorious Suliots as far as the village of Vareatis, which is within seven hours of Ioannina: they

lost all their baggage, ammunition, and arms, which were thrown away in the flight, besides an immense number of prisoners, whose ransom served to enrich the conquerors. Ali himself killed two horses in his precipitate escape, and when he arrived at his capital he shut himself up in his harem for several days, where he admitted no one to his presence except a few of his most confidential friends*.

Scarcely a thousand men returned from this expedition with their arms: about 6000 are said to have been slain or taken prisoners, and the other 3000 having been dispersed over the woods and mountains, did not collect together again at Ioannina before the expiration of several weeks. Ali having now given up the conquest of Suli as hopeless for the present, entered into negotiation with its citizens and concluded a peace upon condition of ceding to them possession of their acquired territory as far as Dervitziana, of restoring his seventy prisoners, together with Tzavella's son, and of paying a very large sum as a ransom for his captive troops. The beys of Paramithia and Margariti, who had been induced by his wiles to assist in this war, made a separate treaty, by which they bound themselves in future to become allies instead of enemies to the republic.

About this time the political horizon became darkened with the harbingers of those storms and tempests that so long convulsed every state in Europe. French revolutionists were very busy around Ali; great hopes were held out to make him throw off the yoke of obedience to the Porte and assume the independent sovereignty of Epirus; and it is supposed that one of his chief reasons for attacking Suli was, that he might, in case of revolt, have established himself in so impregnable a fortress. Failing however in his projects, he became wary of his new friends, and was too crafty to commit himself with his own government before he had sufficiently consolidated his power: his great aim was to dispossess the Venetians of their settlements upon the coast; for

* T' s slaughter occurred July 20, 1792.

he plainly saw that whilst these afforded a rendezvous to the discontented who fled from his government, as well as arms and ammunition to his enemies, he never could raise that fabric of power of which he had already laid the foundation: but as yet he had neither means nor opportunity: many powerful independent clans were interposed between them and his territories: he had no marine, nor the means of forming one: he had no ports, except one for small craft at Salagora on the gulf of Arta; neither had he the power of protecting the small share of commerce which he possessed; for the politic Venetians had procured a clause to be inserted in their treaty with the Porte, that no subject of that state should build a fort within a mile of the Ionian coast, nor sail with any armed vessel through the channel of Corfu. In this state of things he armed himself, as he knows well how to do upon occasion, with patience: his penetrating mind could clearly foresee the future disunion of political engagements and the distraction of foreign powers. He determined therefore to wait for the appointed time, and instead of acting in opposition to his government, to use it as the chief instrument of his aggrandizement, making his own acts of usurpation appear like its equitable claims or fair reprisals.

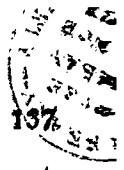
In the mean time he turned his attention to the improvement of his capital, in which he laid the foundations of the new fort surrounding the palace of Litaritza, to the construction of roads for the greater facility of internal commerce, to the extirpation of robbers who at this time infested all parts of the country, to the formation of alliances with neighbouring chiefs, and most particularly to the accumulation of wealth, well knowing the efficacy of that powerful engine which is not unaptly termed the sinews of war: his subjects however had no great reason to bless the ambitious designs of their ruler, being ground down by his oppressive avanias, and put to great inconvenience by the diminution of the circulating medium: at present however he did not think proper to shew fully that severity of character which has since been displayed in so many acts of consummate cruelty.

At this time the convulsions of revolution agitated the whole continent of Europe, and possessions soon began to change their masters. In 1797 Ali saw the Venetians driven from the Ionian islands and their continental dependencies, whilst the French flag waved upon the shores of Epirus*: this was the moment for which he had anxiously waited. Suspecting that the Great Republic entertained views against the tottering power of Turkey, which political circumstances at this time tended strongly to promote, he began to intrigue with its victorious general, and accordingly sent a confidential agent to Bonaparte's head quarters in the north of Italy. The French general, who had received accurate information respecting the character and conduct of the Albanian chieftain, entered with alacrity into negotiations and proposed to make use of him as a powerful instrument in the promotion of his ulterior designs. Thus these two great and crafty personages were now matched; each anxious to deceive the other and turn him to his own particular advantage. The benefits which Ali received from this alliance were certain and immediate. He gained permission to sail with his flotilla through the channel of Corfu in spite of former treaties: he surprised the two independent towns of Aghio Vasili and Nivitza, massacred the poor inhabitants in church whilst they were celebrating the festival of our Lord's resurrection, and having thus established himself upon the sea coast opposite Corfu, in the midst of the most formidable, wealthy and independent tribes of Albania, was ready to seize upon every advantage that futurity might hold forth: in fact he very soon took possession of the important fishery at Santa Quaranta as well as the large and excellent harbour of Porto Palermo, where he afterwards built a large fort, and thus drew, as it were, a cordon round the Pashalic of Delvino: at the same time his agents made a merit of these acts at Constantinople, by representing them as done solely for the advantage

* The Ionian isles, together with the continental towns of Prevesa, Vonizza, Butrinto, Parga, and Gomenizza, were placed under the dominion of the French Republic by the treaty of Campo Formio.

of the Porte and the subjugation of infidels; Ali himself confirmed their report by paying tribute to the Sultan for every place he conquered, and acknowledging the feudal tenure under which he held the government.

Still further to ingratiate himself with his sovereign he headed his contingent of Albanian troops, joined the Grand Vizir in his campaign against the rebel Paswan Oglou, and highly distinguished himself in the unsuccessful attack of Vidin. An anecdote is related of him at this period which clearly shews the line of conduct he had resolved to pursue with regard to his flattering but insidious court. The Grand Vizir, under pretence of bestowing public approbation upon his conduct, requested his attendance in full divan. Ali, conscious how much more he merited the bowstring than half the victims upon whom that punishment has fallen, went boldly, but surrounded the vizir's tent with six thousand faithful Albanians: as might be expected, his reception was courteous, but the conference was short. Soon after this event he received intelligence of the invasion of Egypt and the probable rupture between France and Turkey. Ever anxious to turn the course of events to his own advantage, and conjecturing that another transfer of the Ionian islands might possibly take place, he returned in great haste to Ioannina, leaving his eldest son Mouchtar in command of his troops. As was foreseen, the Porte declared war against the French republic, and a combined armament of the Russians and Turks was prepared to wrest the seven islands from a power which had shewn evident intentions of making this a focus from whence European Turkey might be attacked. Ali however, before he took part against his French allies, was anxious to know in what state of defence the Ionian government stood, and whether it was capable of resisting the force about to be employed against it; for this purpose, under pretence of giving some important information to the commandant of Corfu he requested a conference with the Adjutant General Rosa, naming him because he had resided for a long time at Ioannina, had married a wife in that city,



and was a personal acquaintance. The place of conference was at a small dogana, or custom-house, near the town of Philates: having there gained from the general all the information possible by fair means, he extorted by torture a declaration of the defenceless state to which the French in the islands were reduced; after which he dispatched him to Constantinople, under plea of his being a spy sent from Corfu to excite a revolt among the Albanians. Soon after his arrival at that city he died in consequence of his ill treatment.

The information which Ali had thus gained decided his political conduct: pretending a vehement zeal for the good of his country and the honour of the crescent, he offered a cordial co-operation with the allied powers, by undertaking the reduction of the ex-Venetian towns upon the continent, and his offer was unfortunately accepted.

The three great powers at this time engaged in active operations against France, were England, Russia, and Turkey. The plan pursued by them in the Ionian Sea deviated a little from its original destination. It was at first resolved that Russia and Turkey should act together in Egypt, and that England should take upon herself alone the task of expelling the French from their Septinsular possessions; in consequence of which arrangement instructions were sent out to Lord Nelson to dispatch a division of his fleet for this service under the command of the gallant Sir Sidney Smith. Proclamations were issued by his lordship inviting the islanders to take up arms in vindication of their rights and liberty, whilst a strong exhortation to the same effect was procured from the Patriarch of Constantinople, and extensively circulated. The expedition was on the point of sailing when the scheme was disconcerted by the cunning policy of one of the confederates. The Russians ever on the alert to seize any opportunity of distinguishing themselves on this theatre and of amalgamating themselves with the cause of Greece, waited only till they had obtained a passage through the straits of the Dardanelles before they declared their intention of sailing immediately for the Ionian Isles instead of

Egypt; and this they did under pretext of many strong invitations sent them by the inhabitants, who desired liberation and protection at the hands of a nation which professed the same religious faith as themselves: but that it was only a pretext, appeared evident from the circumstance that greatest part of their crews and land forces in the expedition, both officers and men, were composed of Greeks. It was however now too late for the other allies to raise objections and hazard a rupture. The English squadron was cheerfully dispatched to the shores of Egypt, since our interests were much more concerned in that quarter, and the Porte, though duped, determined to yield with a good grace and to accompany the Russian fleet with a portion of its own, though they sent the greatest part to co-operate with the British admiral.

Long before the arrival of the allied fleets in these seas, Ali who had his own interest alone in view, determined to commence operations. I have before mentioned that the strongest and most advantageous of all the ex-Venetian towns upon his coast was Prevesa; a city which is now the key of his marine, the Portsmouth of Albania. To prepare this place for an easy surrender he had long employed all his talents, craft, and ingenuity; the principal agents in his secret treacheries were, shame to say! a Christian bishop, and Captain Botzari, that distinguished Suliot whom we have before seen fighting bravely on the side of liberty and honour! By the first of these instruments he sowed dissensions among the Prevesans and gained over with deceitful promises a large party to his interests, persuading them that their good and the destruction of the French were his only objects: by the second he procured a free passage for his troops, all of whom might have been intercepted and cut to pieces in the dangerous defiles of the Cassopæan mountains. If indeed the Suliots had taken advantage of this opportunity, when Ali was engaged with Prevesa and the regular troops of France, they might have crushed that viper from whose deadly fangs they have since suffered so grievously.

The detention of one of his brigs sailing into the gulf of Arta, unless the story, as some believe, was forged for the purpose, gave the pasha a nominal pretext for attacking his former allies. Rapid in execution as he is quick in design, he put his army, consisting of about 5000 men, instantly in motion, and gave the command to his son Mouchtar. The unfortunate Prevesans, taken unprepared, had scarcely time to send their families and moveable property to the neighbouring islands; whilst many actually discrediting the report of the pasha's approach retained them unfortunately at home. General Salsette however, who commanded the French garrison, had better information, and summoned the principal citizens to take into consideration measures of defence: at this council it was determined, under the joint influence of ignorance and treachery, to throw up works and defend the Isthmus of Nicopolis, over which it was necessary for the Albanians to march in their approach to Prevesa. A great portion of the people seconded the determination with ardour, and applied themselves to the fortification of this 'Plain of Victory:' unfortunately the engineer officer who had the direction of the works died within a few days of their commencement, and scarcely time was left to throw up two weak redoubts, before the pasha's troops appeared, covering the range of hills that rises to the north of Nicopolis.

Expedition is the very soul of Ali's warfare; having ordered his tent to be fixed upon an eminence, whence he could see all the operations, and where the tent of Augustus probably stood before an action of much greater importance in the affairs of the world, he gave orders for the attack of the French and Prevesans in their position. The Albanian infantry set up the yell of war, and poured down from the heights upon their intimidated foes, whilst Mouchtar charged the French troops in one of the redoubts at the head of his cavalry: these latter capitulated after an honourable resistance, but the wretched Prevesans were soon routed and driven in precipitate flight towards the city: it was entered at the same moment by the pursuers and

pursued, and given up to all the horrors that could proceed from a savage and infuriated soldiery, who continued the scenes of murder, rape, and pillage during this and the succeeding day*. Whatever excuse Ali might endeavour to make for this gratification of vengeance, in the impracticability of restraining his soldiers and breaking those promises which he made to them before the expedition, his most zealous partisans would find it difficult to frame one for the inhuman act which it becomes our duty now to relate. On the third day after the victory, his Episcopal ally undertook a mission to Vonizza, which lies in a beautiful recess of the Ambracian Gulf, whose inhabitants he persuaded to submit to the pasha and to cut off the heads of four Frenchmen who lay sick in the hospital. With this bloody present he was returning to his master, when he found at the punta or point at the other side of the bay opposite Prevesa, a multitude of poor wretches who had escaped from the slaughter and were hiding themselves, half-naked and famished, among the bushes that cover the spot. The unfortunate creatures crowded round him and entreated his good offices with the pasha. These he promised, gave them great consolation in the assurance of success, and advised them to return with him to Prevesa. Accordingly they accompanied him, contrary to the warning voice of a benevolent Turk who happened to be present, and who knew intimately the character of him they were about to trust. On their arrival at the city, they were, in spite of promises and assurances, thrown into prison by the inexorable Ali, and next day transported with about two hundred more victims across the gulf of Arta to his dogana of Salagora, there to suffer death in cold blood by the hands of an executioner†; the only criminal act imputed to them being their union with

* Had Prevesa been defended, as it ought to have been, under its own walls, such a check might have been given to Ali as would have induced many places to revolt against him, or at any rate have given time for the succours to arrive which were actually on their way from Santa Maura under a gallant young Prevesan captain named Cristachi, and which were only detained by a contrary wind.

† It is but justice to the bishop to say that this massacre, which he little expected, lay so heavy on his mind, that he took advantage of a mission upon which he was soon after sent by Ali to Corfu, to desert his patron and his native country: nor was the pasha ever able to induce him by any offers or bribes to return.

the French in opposing his occupation of their city. I was informed of a singular instance of self-command and presence of mind connected with this massacre that is deserving of record.

One Gerasimo Sanguinazzo, a native of Ithaca, happening at this time to reside at Santa Maura, and being informed that his brother and cousin, inhabitants of Prevesa, had been included in the number of these victims, collected a considerable sum of money upon his own responsibility and in a swift-rowing vessel set out instantly for Prevesa: there throwing himself at the feet of the pasha and offering him his wealth as a ransom, he procured a pardon for his relations from the tyrant who was assured in his own mind that they were beyond the reach of human mercy. Nevertheless a bouyourdee was signed for their release, and Gerasimo, whose boat was in readiness, departed with all possible speed. Arrived at Salagora, he found, as the pasha had expected, that the work of death was nearly complete; and the ghastly heads of those who had been so dear to him lay weltering with 300 others in a pool of blood: about ten of these unfortunate Prevesans however were still alive, and waiting their doom; the wrists of the executioner being so much swollen by his exertions that it was with difficulty he could perform his bloody office. With admirable promptitude and presence of mind Gerasimo stept forward, presented his bouyourdee to the officer of the guard, and claimed two of these persons, whom he pointed out, for his brother and his cousin: they were delivered to him on the spot, and carried back in safety to Santa Maura.

This island, very soon after the capture of Prevesa, was in imminent danger from the designs of Ali: had he once gained possession it would have been extremely difficult for any power to have recovered it from his grasp. It was saved by one of those singular and surprising incidents which are beyond all human calculation. Whilst the fleet of the Russians, who were as dilatory in their movements as Ali was expeditious, made a long delay about the islands of Cerigo and Zante, he

suddenly appeared upon the strand of Playa, which is opposite the city of Santa Maura, with all his army, and summoned it to an immediate surrender; threatening to treat it like Prevesa in case it should provoke his attack. Fear operating with dissensions among the citizens induced many of them to promote his wishes, and the French garrison had great difficulty in preventing a revolt. In the mean time Giovanni Vlassopulo, a Greek captain in the Russian service, having been dispatched by Admiral Uczakoff in a swift sailing vessel to arrest the small French garrison upon the isle of Ithaca, accidentally heard the dangers to which Santa Maura was exposed. As soon therefore as he had executed his commission, instead of returning to the fleet, he set sail in a contrary direction, and arrived just in time to intercept Ali's flotilla, which had taken about fifty boats full of miserable Prevesans, who were endeavouring to make their escape to Santa Maura and the other islands. With prompt decision he ran alongside the commandant of the flotilla, threw himself on board dressed in his Russian uniform, and through the medium of an interpreter, commanded the release of all the boats, and the restoration of their property, under threats of the Russian admiral's displeasure. The commandant, taken by surprise, complied instantly with these orders, and Vlassopulo accompanied the fugitives to a place of safety; after this he hastened to Santa Maura, and stopped the pasha's operations by a similar manœuvre, whilst he was engaged in the very act of stipulating with the inhabitants for an unconditional surrender. No failure in his schemes ever annoyed Ali so much as this: he still continues to think, or pretends to think, that he has an undoubted right to the possession of this island, and I know some persons to whom he has declared, that he keeps an agreement signed by its inhabitants for a surrender, next his heart, and that he will keep it there till his dying hour.

The place to which the pasha turned his views for consolation in his disappointment was Parga, a name, at the very mention of which every

Englishman must now feel the blush of shame tingle on his cheek: but of this hereafter. He had written a letter to the primates of this place immediately after the storming of Prevesa, demanding their submission to his authority; receiving no answer to this he dispatched a second epistle, to which the Parghiotes returned a firm and spirited reply, rejecting his overtures, and despising his threats: they moreover entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with the Suliots, who had by this time seen their folly in trusting to so deceitful an enemy, ever most dangerous when he seems most pacific. In the mean time the islands had all fallen before the combined forces of Russia and Turkey, and Ali, foiled in his attempts upon Parga, carried the smaller towns of Gomenitza and Butrinto, at which latter place the French garrison, as it retired, blew up the fort.

In March 1800, a treaty was concluded between Russia and Turkey, by which the independence of the Ionian republic was guaranteed, under protection of the former power, upon payment of an annual tribute of 75,000 piastres to the Ottoman Porte, whilst the continental dependencies were all annexed to the dominions of the Sultan, except Parga, whose citizens, in spite of leagues and treaties, continued to preserve their freedom, in the spirited determination to fall only under the ruins of their citadel. The following are the terms which tended to lighten the yoke of servitude imposed upon the three other cities.

That the same privileges relating to religious worship, and the administration of justice, which prevail in Moldavia and Valachia, shall be preserved to them. That no Mahometan shall be allowed to settle or acquire property in them, but it shall be lawful to establish in them a governor, who must absolutely be of the Mahometan religion. That the inhabitants shall have free intercourse with the islands, permission to rebuild their churches, construct new ones, and ring their bells without any interruption. That the Porte shall exact

a moderate tribute from the rayahs of these places, not exceeding that which was paid to the Venetian republic, and in consideration of the calamities they have suffered, no tribute at all shall be demanded for the two first years after the signature of this convention.

This destiny at first sight may not appear a very hard one, but in fact it was soon felt otherwise; for it opened a door, as might have been foreseen, to all the enormities which have since ensued, in the solemn transfer of Christian states to an infidel power that respects neither oaths nor treaties, when made with the professors of a different religious faith. The advantages thus gained by Turkey were strongly suspected to have been procured by bribery, and these suspicions were not a little strengthened by the dismissal of the Russian envoy from the councils of the emperor, who it is thought would have refused to ratify the treaty had he not been alarmed at the vast preparations making by England at this time for the expedition against Copenhagen, and perceived that it was his interest to caress the Porte. The old Count Capo d' Istria, chief deputy from the islands to the court of Constantinople, was also believed to have had far too great a share in these disgraceful transactions, and was looked upon with such an evil eye on this account in his native place, that when the rebellion broke out in 1803 at Corfu, his life would have been sacrificed to the popular indignation, and his house burnt to the ground, but for the intercession of the British resident, who saved both.

Ali was now obliged to withdraw his troops from these continental dependencies; but he conceived a hatred on that account against the Russians, the flame of which has never been extinguished in his bosom: this was not a little augmented by Admiral Uczakoff, who procured the restoration of the pashalic of Delvino to Mustafà its former ruler, from whom it had been lately taken by the Porte and given to Ali. This ambitious chieftain, however, was now gratified by the public thanks of his sovereign for his eminent services, as

well as by a present of the Kelich-Caftan, a fine ermine pelisse, and a sword richly decorated with brilliants; and, to complete his elevation, he was made Rumelie-Valisee, or viceroy of Rumelia, an office which confers upon its bearer the high title of Vizir. His residence was now fixed at Monastir, a large city about one day's journey west of the Lake of Ochrida. This unfortunate place he pillaged in the most scandalous manner, not only levying heavy contributions upon the inhabitants, but actually carrying away their very implements of household furniture, which he sent to his stores in Ioannina and Tepeleni. Amongst the plunder, as I was informed, were twelve beautiful busts of bronze, eleven of which have been barbarously melted down; but the twelfth was fortunately rescued, and is now in England. Ali at that time was no connoisseur in the fine arts.

At the place of his birth he built a fine seraglio, with an immense tower in the garden, wherein he deposited, and still continues to deposit, his wealth, keeping the keys constantly in his own possession. Those treasures, upon which he placed his great reliance for future success, were augmented by the most rigorous and cruel avanias upon every district over which his authority as derven-pasha extended. His extortions were so terrible that if he had held his viceregal office long, it is thought all this part of European Turkey would have risen in open rebellion.

Upon his return to Ioannina he determined to recommence operations against the Suliots, several of whose chief families had proved accessible to his arts and bribery. Tzavella had been dead some years, but the glory of his race was nobly upheld by young Foto, who, under the guidance and example of his mother, the heroine Mosco, had grown up into the most perfect palikar that modern Greece could boast, distinguishing himself not more by his signal acts of courage, his success in audacious enterprises, his strength of body improved by temperance and hardships, his Achillean swiftness

of foot, his expertness at the mark, and all those other qualities which are so admirable in the eyes of a rude and warlike people, than by his sagacity, acuteness, generosity of disposition, and above all, by his honour and good faith, in which he may put to shame many heroes of more polished nations.

Ali's resolution to subdue Suli was not a little strengthened by its intimate connexion with Parga and Corfu, affording means to the Russians for sowing dissensions in his states, stirring up a spirit of hostility against his power, and dispersing arms and ammunition amongst his enemies. His principal reliance was upon the effect of his bribery and the exertions of the traitor Botzari and his fara, which had been corrupted through his influence. This man had greatly distinguished himself in the former war, and from his age and experience, was looked upon by his countrymen as head of the republic. But as the terror of the Suliot name was great throughout Albania, and the remembrance of former defeats not yet obliterated from the minds of his people, Ali thought it advisable to interest them, if possible, by some stronger motives than those of conquest or revenge. To this end he convoked an assembly of agàs and beys, the chiefs of his allies in the ensuing war, at Ioannina. There, when they were met together in the castron, he produced the Koran and a venerable sheik, or minister of religion, who undertook to interpret several of its obscure passages as prophetical of the present state of Albania, and indicating their success in the approaching contest: they were exhorted to enter upon it with that enthusiastic zeal which distinguished the first Ottoman conquerors, whilst the rewards of victory and the glories of martyrdom were placed before their eyes in the most glowing colours.

"Come, then, my agàs," said Ali, rising up from his seat, "as many as are true and faithful followers of the Prophet, and wish to preserve both life and property, let us swear a solemn oath, invoking the name of Mahomet, that nothing but death shall divert us from

warring upon Suli until that haughty republic fall beneath our arms." The assembly, urged more by fear of the vizir than by faith in his prophecies, bowed the head in token of compliance, and took the oath which he required.

Ali now lost no time in collecting together his troops to the number of about 18,000 men: having taken care to spread abroad various reports, first that he intended to lead them against Corfu, next against the French in Egypt, and lastly against Santa Maura, he marched on a sudden against Suli, took and plundered several of its external dependencies, and occupied every pass leading to its mountain holds. The people were taken in a great measure unprepared, having been deceived by the artifices of Botzari, who had for some time studiously kept his fellow-citizens in ignorance of Ali's views, converting the revenues of the republic to the use of himself and his friends, and neglecting to purchase stores and ammunition with the money he received for that purpose from Russia: now on the appearance of the enemy at the foot of the mountain this traitor deserted with all the men of his fara to the Albanian camp. He was joyfully received by Ali, whom he buoyed up with hopes that Suli would surrender on the first attack, deprived as it was of a leader, and unprovided with all the means of defence. The event however proved how little this base traitor and his employer knew what an unconquerable spirit of liberty is able to effect. The rest of the Suliots, though deserted, did not despair. They convoked a council of their captains; they animated each other by the heroic deeds of their ancestors, whose valour had so often been invincible; and they determined, that as they had hitherto existed in freedom, they would endure every extremity before they submitted to the yoke.

The principal leaders named in this war were Foto Tzavella, *Dimo Zerva, Diamante Zerva, Giovanni Zerva, Dimo Draco, Cuzzonica,

* Dimo is a diminutive from Demetrio.

Giorgio Calespera, Chitzo Pandasi, Giannachi Sefo, Anastasio Cascari, and some others, besides the amazon Mosco, and Samuel a caloyer or monk, a man of wild enthusiastic character, who ran about animating the citizens with a Bible in one hand and a sword in the other, cutting off heads and explaining texts or prophecies, but whose courage and patriotism were more conspicuous than his prudence and discretion. The number of Suliots enrolled for the defence of their country never exceeded at any time three thousand men.

The army of the vizir marched from the district of Luro along the Ionian shore, and some skirmishing took place in the region of ancient Acherusia. The Suliots retreated before superior numbers, and the Albanians, setting up the yell of war, endeavoured in the pursuit to penetrate the great Acherontian chasm of Glyky. Here however they met with a most determined resistance; the Suliots overwhelmed their advance with huge stones from the overhanging precipices, and thousands of unerring musket balls issued from behind rocks which screened the marksmen from the view of their enemy. Whilst the contest on this side was hottest, a large body of 3000 Albanian troops under the selictar or sword-bearer of the vizir, endeavoured to pour down upon the rear of the Suliots from the mountain Bogoritza, where they had lain in ambuscade. These were met by Foto Tzavella with about 200 of his bravest palikars and put to rout with great slaughter. The vizir then gave orders for a retreat, after having lost about 500 of his men, whilst the whole loss of his enemies did not exceed twenty*. In his disappointment he ordered Captain Botzari to be brought into his presence, reproached him with bringing false intelligence and raising delusive hopes, and in the end commanded him to give a proof of sincerity and devotion to the cause by heading his party of traitors against their valiant

* It is scarcely possible to conceive how the loss on each side could be so disproportionate, nor did I believe it myself until I saw the scenes of action, where numbers must have created confusion instead of being advantage, and where the party attacked had such a superiority from its power of concealment.

countrymen. Botzari, whose life or death depended upon the nod of Ali, dare not refuse, although, as it easily may be supposed, he had but little heart for the service. Being well acquainted with all the passes of his native hills he led his band over the great summit called Raithovuni*, with the intent of falling upon Kiaffa and Kako-Suli by surprise, whilst the troops of the vizir advanced to create a diversion and draw off the attention of the enemy. The enterprise however entirely failed: the Suliots were apprized of his approach, and whilst the main body of their forces kept Ali from penetrating the ravines, a small division met the traitors in their descent, put the greatest part of them to the sword, and drove the rest, with their infamous captain, fairly off their territories. This wretch died, as it is said, of grief and disappointment about five months after his defeat, an object of scorn and detestation to all parties, though some report that he hastened his own end by poison. Many skirmishes ensued after this affair, in which the Suliots were invariably successful, and the vizir suffered such losses in his army that he almost despaired of the event.

In the mean time the ancient spirit of Corcyrean sedition began to manifest itself in Corfu, the Russian and Ottoman interests were found to be totally at variance, and Ali did all in his power to promote and take advantage of this jealousy: he persuaded the Porte how necessary was the extension and consolidation of his own power in Epirus, to counteract the influence of the Russians in the islands, and prevent them from fomenting dissensions amongst the minor states. Hence he procured a firman from his government ordering Hassan Bey of Margariti, Pronio Agà of Paramithia, and several other independent chiefs, to assist him in his conquests; whereas it was their interest, as it was the secret wish of their hearts, to have leagued together for his annihilation.

Two of these agàs, Pronio of Paramithia and Mahmout Daliani of Konispoli, were obliged to lead 1500 men in a grand attack which Ali now meditated. The vizir himself encamped at Lippa near the sources

* See the plate representing the mountains of Suli, and the exit of the Acheron.

of the Acheron, sending about half his army to Cestruni (the ancient district of Cestrine) under his favourite general named Mustafà Ziguri. Against these forces the gallant Foto Tzavella marched with a body of Suliots, few indeed in number but all animated with patriotic ardour and burning for revenge upon their invaders. Having advanced within a short distance from the vanguard of the Albanians they laid an ambuscade, which they managed very adroitly from their perfect knowledge of the country, and then sent forward a few of their swiftest palikars to insult and provoke the enemy: this conduct had the effect desired; the Albanians, irritated by their taunts, ran swiftly after them, fell into the ambuscade and perished without having seen their enemies. The report of musketry reaching the ears of Ziguri, he hastened to the encounter, and as he approached the ambuscade waving his sword and encouraging his men, a shot from the musket of Tzavella pierced his heart and he fell dead upon the spot. An incident of this kind is very apt to strike with consternation the troops of a semi-barbarous people: a sudden panic spread itself from rank to rank, when a general volley from the Suliots and a fearful shout raised as a prelude to victory, put them all to flight and occasioned a loss in killed and prisoners that far exceeded in numbers the sum total of their antagonists.

The vizir indignant at this defeat upbraided his troops with pusillanimity and ordered a general attack on the morrow, that they might have an opportunity of wiping away their disgrace. The Suliots however were apprized of his design by their secret friend Pronio of Paramithia, and were advised by him, if they wished to escape the danger, that they should muster all their forces and boldly meet the foe already dispirited by his late disasters. The republic followed this judicious counsel, and placed the flower of their army under the command of its two best captains, Tzavella and Dimo Draco. These excellent and experienced officers led their forces through the defiles of the Cassopæan mountains, and came right upon the line of the enemy in his advance: at this moment a tremendous shower of hail poured down, which was

driven by the wind into the faces of the Albanians. The Suliots taking advantage of the moment, descended with terrific shouts upon their assailants, who scarcely stood the shock, but throwing away their arms, fled with precipitation over the mountains, where great numbers fell into the hands of their pursuers; the main body rested not till it arrived, after immense loss, at the corps of reserve under Ali at Lippa.

The vizir, now totally dispirited, and despairing to conquer Suli by assault, determined to alter his manner of warfare, and proceed according to the method of blockade.

CHAPTER VII.

Ali turns the Siege of Suli into a Blockade—Brave Action of the Suliots, in which Foto Tzavella is wounded—Stratagem of the Suliots—Treachery of Ali—Letter of the Suliots—Proposal of Ali to purchase Suli—Answer of the Suliots—Attempt made to bribe Dimo Zerva, but fails—Distress of the Suliots—Assistance sent by the French—Effects of Famine—Supplies gained by a desperate Effort—Two Suliot Captains yield to the Vizir's Bribes—One of them repents—Stratagem of Strivinioti—Confederacy of the Tzamouriot Beys against Ali—How dissolved—Ali joins the Army of the Grand Vizir against Paswan Oglou—Endeavours to impose upon the Suliots at his Return—Persuades them to banish Foto Tzavella—Foto goes to Ioannina—Thrown into Prison there—Attack of the Fortress of Villa by the Suliots—The Vizir, indignant at their Valour, collects a vast Army under the Command of his Son Vely—Kiaffa taken—Foto Tzavella being released, returns to his Country—Last Action of the Suliots—Kako-Suli surrenders—People emigrate—Treacherous Conduct of the Albanians—Suliots attacked—Affair of Zalongo—Desperate Revenge of Samuel the Caloyer—Suliots again attacked—Affair of Rhiniasa—Action at Vurgareli—Emigration of the Suliots—Song of Suli—Story of the Traitor Palasca—Ali's Quarrel with the Beys of Tzamouria—Suliots return from Corfu, in hopes of recovering their Mountains—Ill treated, and regain the Islands—Enter the Russian Service—Ali alarmed at the Progress of the French Arms in Dalmatia—Recovers the goodwill of Bonaparte—French Consul established in Albania—Ali gains Pashalics for his two Sons by the Interest of Sebastiani—Rupture between Turkey and Russia—Ali reoccupies the Continental Depend-

encies of the Seven Islands—Ruins Prevesa—Receives Artillery-men and Stores from his French Allies—Colonel Vaudoncourt is sent to Ali —His Opinion of the Vizir—Fortifies Prevesa—Joint Insurrection of Tzamouria, Delvino, and Berat against Ali—Reduced by him—Admiral Duckworth's Expedition against Constantinople.

AGREEABLY to the determination of Ali, alluded to in the preceding chapter, he divided his army into five columns, with which he occupied the entrances of the principal defiles leading into the recesses of the Suliot mountains, throwing up, in the course of one night, sixty-four small towers, which were soon afterwards replaced by a smaller number of redoubts or forts, capable of containing from 200 to 400 men. The leaders of the republic were of course necessitated to adopt similar measures of defence; they therefore divided their army into five separate battalions to oppose the enemy, and attached to each a troop of female warriors, who provided them with food, relieved them frequently from the duty of sentinels, and on occasions of attack supplied them with ammunition, or even mingled in the contest. As soon as the forts were constructed, a general assault was made by the vizir's troops, who again suffered a total defeat, and were saved from destruction only by the protection of their new fortifications. Nothing but the oath taken by the beys, previous to the commencement of this war, could have kept them firm in their allegiance. In the mean time a fresh firman was obtained from the Porte, and amongst other beys and pashas who were required to furnish contingents, even Ibrahim Pasha of Berat was obliged to dispatch 2000 men to the assistance of his bitterest enemy and rival: so completely was the Divan deluded by the craft and cunning of this extraordinary man!

To these soldiers of Berat, who are very warlike in their nature, a separate station was assigned at their own request, to give them an opportunity of distinguishing their superior prowess. This station lay oppo-

site to one of the advanced guards of the republic, which occupied a hill called Curilla. Of this hill the Beratians determined to dispossess the Suliots, and prepared themselves for a fierce attack: timely intelligence of these motions being sent to Foto Tzavella, he hastened with a select corps to the relief of his friends, when, after three hours hard fighting, he succeeded in driving the assailants down the heights. In the eagerness of pursuit this young Achilles far outstripped his companions, which being observed by one of the fugitives who was in danger of being overtaken and cut down, he slunk unperceived behind a rock, fired off his musket with deliberate aim, and Foto fell: the man then ran after his companions, who, elated by this event, rallied, and turned their faces again to the enemy, when a fierce conflict ensued over the body of the fallen chief, like that which the poet has described over the corpse of Patroclus: not a musket was now fired, but each party fought desperately with their sharp Albanian sabres. Foto being only wounded, and not dead, earnestly entreated his companions to sever his head from his body, to prevent the possibility of his being carried alive to the pasha; but his gallant comrades replied, that they would carry him back in triumph to his friends; and in this, after the most prodigious efforts, they finally succeeded. Immediately on the fall of Tzavella, a soldier ran off to convey the welcome tidings of his death to the pasha, who rewarded him with a hundred sequins upon the spot, and promised him four hundred more if his news should prove correct.

Soon after this occurrence, and whilst Foto's wound was cured, an ingenious stratagem was played off upon a large body of the new levies, by a Suliot whose name is not recorded. Hearing that they were on their march to join the main army, he concerted measures with his countrymen, and then throwing himself as if by accident into their way, suffered himself to be made prisoner: presently, as they advanced on their route, a sharp firing was heard on a mountain at a little distance, and the Suliot being questioned as to the cause, an-

swered, that a party of the vizir's troops were engaged with those of the republic, and advised them strongly, if they wished to shew their zeal, and gain great honour and rewards from their commander, to run instantly to the assistance of their allies. The infatuated Albanians take his advice, and ascend the hill; in the hurry of this manœuvre their insidious adviser steals away; they soon find themselves placed between two fires, lose half their men in killed and wounded, and almost all the rest in prisoners.

This affair terminated for a short time all active contests between the parties. Ali, despairing to subdue such valiant and determined enemies in open warfare, turned the siege into a blockade, during the delay of which he hoped that famine and treachery might effect what he was unable to do by force of arms. The Suliots however, acquainted with various mountain passes unknown to him, found means to procure food, and in the dark nights they sallied out in parties of fifty or sixty, falling upon the surrounding villages, from whence they carried off corn and cattle, even pillaging the very camps of their enemies, who dared not leave their entrenchments in the darkness for fear of ambuscade. The vizir at length, tired of so protracted a contest, proposed a truce, and demanded twenty-four hostages as a security against the violation of his territory. Strong necessity urged the Suliots to accept his terms, and the hostages were delivered up. Then the deceitful Ali threw off the mask, imprisoned these unfortunates, and threatened them with death by torture, unless the republic should surrender unconditionally. To his perfidious proposals the following answer was returned.

" Βεζίρ 'Αλῆ Πασᾶ σὲ χαιρετῶμεν.

" Μὲ τὲς ἀπίστες τρόπες ὁπὸ φέρεσαι, δὲν κάμνης ἄλλο, παρὰ νὰ ὁλιγοστεύῃς τὴν ὑπόληψίν σε, κὰι νὰ αὐξάνῃς τὴν ἐδικήν μας σκληροκαρδίαν ἐναντίον σε· Ἴξευρε ὅτι ὅπε ἔχομεν δεκαεπτὰ Θυσίας τῆς πατρίδος, ἂς γίνεν μὲ αὐτὲς σαρανταένας διὰ περισσοτέραν ἐνθύμησιν· ὅτι ἡ πατρὶς διά αὐτὰς τὰς Θυσίας δὲν παραδίδοται· ὅθεν ἐις τὸ ἐξῆς ἀγάπην πλέον δὲν ἔχομεν, ὅτε τὴν θέλομεν μαζύσε· ἐπειδὴ ἴσαι ἄπιστος κατὰ πάντα καθὼς κὰι παντότε."

TRANSLATION.

" Vizir Ali Pasha, we greet you.

" By such treacherous conduct you do nothing else but sully your own reputation and increase our determined resistance against you. Know this, that we have already lost seventeen victims sacrificed in their country's cause; let these other twenty-four then be added to the number: their memory will live in the breasts of their fellow-citizens. But the republic will not on their account surrender itself. Henceforward we neither desire, nor will we entertain any friendship with you; since in all transactions, and on every occasion, you are a violator of good faith."

This infamous behaviour of Ali so exasperated the Suliots that they prohibited all correspondence with him and threw his letters unopened into the fire. The hostages in the mean time were sent to Ioannina, where, as it was a custom with the Suliots never to deliver up their arms, and no one was found daring enough to demand them, a stratagem was devised for this purpose. Being all sent to the island in the lake, the hegumenos or prior of a convent there invited them to attend divine service on occasion of a solemn festival: his proposal was unwarily accepted by the Suliots who, according to custom, deposited their weapons in the church-porch under the pledged faith of the hegumenos: one man, however, named Fotomara, retained his arms, and in reply to the remonstrances of the monk observed, " Whilst my country is at war, caloyer, I lay not down my arms, nor do I commit impiety, in my opinion, by entering armed into the temple of God under such circumstances."

At their egress out of church they found their arms conveyed away and a party of Albanian soldiers ready to seize and bind them: the

commander then approached Fotomara, and desired him to surrender his weapons. The gallant youth made a motion as if he would have shot the person who made this request, but in a moment the probable fate of his companions flashed across his mind: he restrained himself, and thus calmly replied: "The worthless coward lays down his arms to preserve an ignoble life, the palikar in death alone: see then how a Suliot lays down his arms." At these words he turned the pistol to his own breast and fell shot through the heart. His companions were all kept in close confinement, distributed amongst the different convents of the island.

In the mean time Ibrahim Pasha, disgusted not more at the want of success than of good faith which marked Ali's conduct, withdrew from the confederacy and secretly supplied the Suliots with stores and ammunition: but the conduct of Pronio Agà of Paramithia, who endeavoured secretly to befriend the republic, being disclosed to the vizir, he demanded and obtained the son of that chieftain as an hostage for his future behaviour. During a cessation of hostilities he dispatched his selictar agà, accompanied by Kitzio Botzari, a brother of the late traitor, to Suli, with proposals for the surrender of their mountain citadels for the sum of 2000 purses, with permission to settle in any part of his dominions free from all taxes and contributions. The Suliots, being so often forewarned, easily penetrated into his intentions and returned the following spirited reply:

" Βεζίρ Αλῆ Πασᾶ σὲ χαιρετῦμεν·

" Ἡ Πατρίς μας ἶναι ἀπείρως γλυκυτὲρα καὶ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄσπρα συ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῦς ἐυτυχῆις τόπυς, ὁπῦ ὑπόσχεσαι νὰ μᾶς ῥώσῃς· ὅθεν ματάιως κοπιάζεις, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐλευθερία μας δὲν πωλεῖται, ὅτε ἀγοράζεται σχεδὸν μὲ ὅλυς τὺς θησαυρὺς τῆς γῆς, παρὰ μὲ τὸ ἄιμα καὶ θάνατον ἕως τὸν ὕστερον Συλιώτην."

TRANSLATION.

" Vizir Ali Pasha, we greet you.

" Our country is infinitely more dear to us than your wealth, or

the fine territory which you promise to bestow upon us. You labour therefore in vain. Liberty is not to be bought by all the treasures of the earth. We will fight till there exists not a Suliot to defend his country."

After the failure of these public proposals, Ali turned all his thoughts to excite individual treachery within this brave republic. Accordingly he dispatched a letter secretly to the valiant Captain Dimo Zerva, promising him 800 purses, with all the honours he could desire, if he would betray the republic. Zerva immediately convened the chiefs, read the letter in their presence, and returned the following answer on the spot.

" I thank you, vizir, for the kind regard you express towards me, but I beseech you not to send the purses, for I should not know how to count them; and if I did, believe me that one single pebble belonging to my country, much less that country itself, would in my eyes appear too great a return for them. Equally vain are the honours you offer to bestow upon me. The honours of a Suliot lie in his arms. With these I hope to immortalize my name and preserve my country."

Ali, fertile in expedients, now tried the effect of hierarchical interposition, and a long correspondence took place between the Archbishop of Ioannina and the Bishop of Paramithia, in whose diocese Suli is situated. This was carried on by means of an infamous monk, called,

for his wicked character, Kako-Joseph (Κακοϊωσὰφ): but the good bishop, who deservedly bore the appellation of Chrysanthes, steadily rebutted all attempts to corrupt his principles: he was afterwards obliged, through fear of his life, to escape and fly to Parga. Ali's troops now began to desert: he had lost, it is said, near 4000 in the last nine months of the war, whilst only twenty-five Suliots had perished*. These latter however became greatly distressed for want of provisions, being closely blockaded by the besieging army and deprived of all their external dependencies: yet never at any period did the flame of liberty burn more brightly in their bosoms, nor did they ever make greater sacrifices for the love of their country. Contriving to send off their useless mouths to Parga and the Ionian islands, they distributed their provisions to the different captains of the republic in proportion to their number of followers.

About this time they received a quantity of arms and other stores from Bonaparte, by the French brig of war, the Arab, which landed them at Porto Fanari, from whence they were secretly conveyed to Suli. This circumstance however proved rather a misfortune than a benefit, since it produced a jealousy of their cause in the minds both of the Russians and the English, who might otherwise have assisted them in their desperate emergency.

After a year's siege their condition became so lamentable that they were obliged to live upon acorns, herbs, and roots, and to grind and mix up the bark of trees with a very scanty proportion of meal; yet under all these calamities their enemies could gain no advantage over them when they came to engage in conflict. In their extreme distress

* I take some of these relations from the work of a Parghiote, published in Venice A. D. 1815, upon the wars of Suli. I have altered many from more accurate information: indeed the writer, though he gives the chief events of the war, seems very ignorant of motives and political causes; and I cannot help suspecting that in many other instances besides the one referred to in the text, he errs greatly in the number of Suliots who fell in different encounters with the pasha's troops. In spite of all advantages of situation or superiority of courage, the difference could not be so great.

the following is one of the manœuvres which they executed to obtain supplies.

Four hundred of their bravest palikars, with 170 female heroines, headed by Mosco, sallied out by night, escaped under cover of the darkness through the defile of Glyky, and arrived in safety at Parga. There they were joyfully received by the compassionate inhabitants, fed for the space of four days, and on the fifth dismissed with as much provision as they could carry for their famished countrymen. One hundred of this troop, with lighter burdens, marched as an advanced guard, to protect the convoy; next came the women in the centre, and then the rest of the men, each carrying as much as he could possibly support. The Albanians, to the number of more than a thousand, endeavoured to intercept their return, but either through fear of the men, or from that respect towards the women which is carried in this country to such an excess that the soldiers sometimes fire from behind them without fear of a return, they refrained from attacking the party; its arrival was most welcome to the Suliots, reduced as they were almost to skeletons, through famine: yet even in this extremity their constant cry was liberty or death.

In the mean time the vizir was constantly at head quarters with the army, except when his presence was required in his capital; nor did he omit any of those allurements and seductive arts which he so well knows how to apply, for bringing over some of the Suliot captains to his interests. Among these, two only were found capable of listening to his promises and of preferring the favour and money of a tyrant to a sense of honour and patriotic devotion. These two, viz. Cuzzonica and Diamante Zerva, held frequent interviews with the common enemy, and carried messages and proposals from him to the council of the republic: these were all indignantly repelled by the strenuous exertions of Foto Tzavella and Dimo Draco, or by the patriotic exhortations of Samuel the caloyer, to whom the Suliots paid the highest reverence. These brave captains took a solemn oath, in which they

invited many of the citizens to join, that they would war with the tyrant till victory or death should release them—they dared all dangers in defence of their country—they animated the brave—they encouraged the timid—and by their experience, sagacity, and courage, fully justified the implicit confidence reposed in them by their countrymen.

In the mean time Diamante Zerva repented of his conduct, and broke off all connexion with the enemy: he endeavoured to persuade the Suliots that his motives for engaging in it, were to gain money for the public service, and to procure the release of their hostages from Ioannina. Notwithstanding this he was never able to regain the confidence or good opinion of his fellow-citizens. The worst horrors of famine now began to appear again at Suli: but the misery of the people made them ingenious, and many strâtagems were executed for procuring food even from their besiegers. Amongst these, the contrivance of one Gianni Strivinioti is particularly recorded. This man having received intelligence that the Turks had lately procured a large supply of cattle from the neighbouring pastures, dressed himself in his white capote and camise, and concealing himself till the shades of evening had descended, walked out on all fours from his lurking place, and mingling with the herds, entered together with them into the stalls when they were shut up. In the dead of night he arose silently, opened the doors, unloosed the oxen, and drove them towards a party of his friends, who were in waiting to receive them. The Albanians heard the noise, but were so alarmed by suspicion of an ambuscade, that they lay still, and preferred the loss of their cattle to the danger of their lives. At another time some troops of the vizir took an ass belonging to the Suliots, which had strayed near their camp. At the earnest request of the latter by a flag of truce, it was restored under promise of an equivalent, when one of their Mahometan prisoners of the highest rank was in consequence released, with an intimation, that if the exchange were

not thought equal, the Suliots were ready to make more ample compensation. When the vizir, enraged at their obstinate defence, offered, by proclamation, a reward of fifty piastres for every head of a Suliot, they in return, by a counter proclamation, made light of this reward, and proposed ten charges of gunpowder to every citizen who should bring in the skull of an enemy.

About this time a bright speck appeared in the midst of that political gloom which hung over the crags of Suli. The ambitious and exterminating designs of Ali became apparent to many other states, and they hastened to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with this intrepid republic. Amongst these new allies were numbered Ibrahim Pasha of Berat, Mustafà of Delvino, Pronio Agà of Paramithia, Mahmout an independent bey of Tzamouria, and Daliani Agà of Konispoli; and thus the whole coast, from Avlona to Suli, was now engaged in arms against the tyrant. Against this torrent he opposed the invincible force of gold: by vast largesses, distributed among the independent beys, he soon excited a civil war in the states of Ibrahim, and drew him into his own dominions: by opening a secret communication with its governor, he introduced a large body of troops into the fortress of Delvino, carried off some Suliot hostages from thence, and obliged Mustafà to make a separate peace. The other allies however continued true to their engagements. The Suliots, in order that the zeal of these might not have time to cool, planned an immediate attack, in concert, upon the Albanian outposts: in the execution of this they partially succeeded, taking a considerable number of prisoners, whom they disarmed and released, telling them to go home, provide fresh weapons, and then return, for that the Suliots still wanted arms. Soon after this attack Ali sent a large force against Paramithia, which would probably have succeeded, had not Tzavella and Dimo Draco poured down with their troops like a mountain torrent upon the invading enemy, whom they totally defeated, and liberated their ally from his dangerous situation. Ali, in

revenge, cut off the heads of all the Suliot hostages which he had taken at Delvino, except two, the brother of Tzavella, and the son of Draco, hoping, by this reservation, to bring the characters of these chieftains into suspicion amongst their countrymen. In this however he failed. They called together the people, and after a most animated harangue, in which they declared that they considered these dear relatives as victims sacrificed upon the altar of their country, they persuaded the Suliots to arm and follow them against the foe, where, by a terrible slaughter, they took ample revenge for the innocent blood which had been shed. Whilst Ali was preparing a blow of retaliation for this disgrace, he suddenly received orders from the Porte to lead his contingent to the army of the grand vizir, which lay before Adrianople, against the rebel Paswan Oglou. These orders he did not think fit to disobey. During his absence the Suliots laid in stores of provisions and arms, and by the advice of Samuel, greatly enlarged the strong fort of Agia Paraskevì, upon the hill of Kunghi.

Ali, at his return, began his usual arts of negotiation, endeavouring to impose upon the Suliots with a false and treacherous proposal of peace, under condition of their allowing him to build and garrison one tower in their district, and banishing from their territories the brave Foto Tzavella, as the chief impediment in the way of tranquillity.

His ambassadors on this occasion were Kitzo Botzari and Cuzzonica, who, by dint of threats and promises, hopes and fears, prevailed upon the republic to request the secession of their bravest captain from those mountains of which his valour was the noblest ornament.

Foto, like an ancient Roman in the early times of the republic, addressed the assembly on this occasion in a speech full of dignity, as well as of compassion for his deluded countrymen; he exhorted them to beware of their inveterate enemy's insidious designs, but disdained to plead in behalf of himself. After the council had broken up, he proceeded to his dwelling, and taking a torch in his hand, he set fire

to the roof, and waited till it was burnt to the ground; declaring, that no enemy of Suli should ever cross the threshold of the Tzavellas: he then buried his sword, and taking an affectionate leave of his friends and family, bid adieu to the mountains which his valour had so long defended, and left his countrymen much in the same state as the silly sheep who were persuaded by the wolves to dismiss their guardians.

The vizir now set every engine to work that might bring Foto into his power, and the reader will be able to form some idea of the artifice and cunning of this man when he learns that success attended his endeavours. Tzavella however did not proceed to Ioannina before he had made the offer of returning to his country, upon condition that certain traitors, whom he named, were banished: this being negatived, he went to the desired conference upon the most solemn protestations of Ali's good faith: he soon however found upon what a frail foundation he had built his hopes, for when he refused to enter into the tyrant's views of enslaving his country, he was thrown, in spite of faith and promises, into prison.

May 12th, 1803.—About this time the Suliots, having received some supplies, made their last attempt against their besiegers. The most important post occupied by the Albanians was that of Villa, where they had built a large square fortress with a strong tower at each angle, and a lofty central one in the area, which served as the principal magazine for the vizir's army. This fortress it was determined to attack, and 200 picked men set out upon the expedition in a very dark and windy night. Having made their approaches unperceived by the enemy, one of them, named Metoçoccales, took a spade and pick-axe, with which he worked patiently and perseveringly until he had excavated a large hole under the foundation of a corner tower. In this he deposited a barrel of gunpowder, lighted a slow fusée, and returned to his companions who had concealed themselves behind a rock. They then set up a tremendous shout which brought the garrison quickly to the suspected place of attack, where they had scarcely arrived before

an explosion took place which buried them beneath the ruins of the angle. The Suliots then rushed like a torrent through the breach and gained possession of the great central tower; this they emptied of all its stores, which they delivered to their women and children, who arrived in great numbers, and the whole time till the dawn of day was occupied in their removal. That part of the garrison which escaped the effects of the explosion had retreated into the three remaining angular towers which they strongly barricadoed. In the morning they were summoned to surrender, and required in token of submission to cast down their arms at the foot of each tower. This the Albanians pretended to do, but when the Suliots came to pick them up, they were fired upon by a reserve and great numbers killed. This want of faith so enraged them that they sent for a large reinforcement of their countrymen, upon whose arrival they applied a vast heap of pitch and other combustibles to the entrances of the towers and burned alive or suffocated these perfidious enemies.

This however was the last action of any consequence that they performed and the evil star of Suli now began to predominate. The vizir in the fury of his indignation sent forth proclamations calling upon every Mahometan throughout his dominions and amongst his allies, in the name of their great prophet, to avenge this slaughter upon the heads of the Suliots. Having by these means collected a large army, he placed it under the command of his son Vely, who encamped in the neighbourhood of Glyky. Besides these, 5000 troops were stationed under two distinguished captains named Mezzo Bonno and Agho Mordari, at Villa; 4500 at Zabruco under Hassan Zapari and Ibrahim Demi; 3000 at Syritziana under Bekir Giogadorus, and 4000 at Tzecurati under Usuff Agà surnamed 'The Arab.'

Even against this overwhelming force the Suliots did not despair, but engaged bravely in conflict both day and night, and by the most daring stratagems and surprises reduced their enemies to such a pitch of despair that they began to consider them as invincible and to desert

in considerable numbers. At last however Kitzio Botzari by large bribes and larger promises prevailed upon Cuzzonica and one Pylio Gusi to betray their native mountains. Just before this time the vizir had liberated Foto Tzavella upon condition of sending his wife and children to Ioannina as hostages and settling himself with the rest of his family, either at Parga or one of the Ionian islands. In the month of September, 1803, this gallant chieftain came to Suli for the last time; assembling the council of the republic in Kiaffa he gave them all the information possible respecting the state of affairs, exhorted them to defend their liberties unto death, and advised them to send away all useless hands under plea of his relationship and the security of his conduct. The Suliots followed his advice, and Foto led these unhappy exiles to Parga, from whence they embarked for Corfu. In the mean time Cuzzonica and Gusi having had several conferences with Vely Pasha at Glyky, and engaged the whole fara of the Zervas to act as their base accomplices, led a body of 200 Albanians through some secret passes of the mountains and concealed them in the houses of the conspirators. Next day Vely made a general attack and the Suliots while they were engaged in the defiles were assaulted in the rear and dispersed; great numbers were killed and the rest either retreated into Kako-Suli or shut themselves up with Samuel in the tower of Kunghi, whilst Kiaffa itself fell into the hands of the enemy. News of this unfortunate event reaching the ears of Foto Tzavella he was unable to restrain his ardour, and although his dearest pledges were in the power of the tyrant, he resolutely abandoned them to their fate, and departing for Suli passed unperceived through the enemy's guards by night and threw himself into the fort of Kunghi with the caloyer. From that place he headed a desperate sally against a large body of troops under the immediate conduct of Ali himself, who came to attack Kako-Suli over the mountains of Dervitziana, and put them so completely to the rout, that the vizir retired to Ioannina and left the whole conduct of the war to his son. The poor Suliots were at last so worn down by war and famine, and so

strictly blockaded on every side by their inveterate enemies that they were reduced to the necessity of accepting terms of capitulation, which were proposed and ratified on the 12th of December 1803: yet even in this their distressed situation the terror of the Suliot name was so great that the whole population was permitted quietly to emigrate and settle wherever they might please.

And now follow the most bloody and perfidious scenes in the catastrophe of this tragic history. Men, women, and children being gathered together, they were separated into two bodies, the largest of which under the conduct of Tzavella and Dimo Draco bent their steps towards Parga, whilst the other marched in the direction of Prevesa with the intention of embarking for Santa Maura. Both were attacked on their road by the troops of the perfidious tyrant. The first mentioned corps having formed a hollow square, and placed their wives, children, and cattle in the midst, gallantly fought their way through the enemy and effected their retréat. The other party were not equally fortunate. Being overtaken by their pursuers at the monastery of Zalongo, they entrenched themselves in its court and prepared for a stout defence: so many troops however were brought against them that the gates of the monastery were soon forced and an indiscriminate slaughter commenced; those that could escape took the road to Arta, but a party of about 100 women and children, being cut off from the rest, fled towards a steep precipice at a little distance from the convent: there the innocent babes were thrown over the rocks by their despairing mothers, whilst the women themselves, preferring death to the dishonour that awaited them, joined hand in hand, and raising their minds to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by songs in honour of their lost country, they whirled round and round in a species of frantic dance like ancient Thyades, till they approached the very edge of the cliff; then with a loud shout of defiance, and as it were by a preconcerted signal, one and all threw themselves headlong down.

After the evacuation of Suli, Samuel the caloyer with four privates remained in the great fortress of Aghia Paraskevì upon Kunghi, to deliver up an inventory of its stores to the commissioners appointed by Vely Pasha. Having received intelligence of the vizir's perfidy towards his countrymen, he determined to take the only revenge that now lay in his power. Accordingly as soon as the Albanian bey and his attendants entered, he descended into the subterranean vaults with a lighted torch, and plunging it into the gunpowder of the magazine blew up the fortress and all it contained into the air; by which terrible act of retribution he avoided the horrid fate prepared for him by the vizir, who had sworn, if he took him, to flay him alive and stuff his skin as a curiosity.

Those of the Suliot exiles who escaped from Zalongo pursued their way through storms of wind and rain aided by the darkness of night, fathers leading their children in one hand and carrying their naked swords in the other, mothers tying their infants on their backs, and some even putting them to death lest their cries should attract the attention of their pursuers. Next day however they were discovered by the Albanians, surrounded and made prisoners; but subsequently were released and allowed by the vizir to settle at Vurgareli which is at the foot of Mount Tzumerka, six hours distant from Arta. After their surrender a party of the Albanians withdrew to a place called Rhiniasa, near the ruins of an ancient city, supposed to have been Elatria: here was a small settlement of Suliots, most of whom had fled, except the family of one Giorgaki Botzi, whose wife and children inhabited a large pyrgo or tower, called the Gula τῆ Δημελᾶ, which was barricadoed against attack. The barbarous soldiers surrounded their habitation and called upon these unhappy females to yield: the mistress, named Despo, then assembled her family together and asked them if they preferred death to dishonour? Being unanimously answered in the affirmative, she ordered them to fire off all the ammunition which had been left in

the tower against the ruffians, except one barrel of gunpowder: to this she herself applied a match and blew up the tower with all its tenants into the air.

But the scene is not yet to close over the miserable remnant of Suli. Ali, whose revenge was still unsatiated, sent a considerable body of forces against the colony of Vurgareli with orders for its extirpation. The unfortunate colonists having received intimation of his design decamped suddenly, and took up a strong position at the monastery of Seltzo, at the foot of a mountain called Fruzia, not far from the Achelous. In the latter end of January, 1804, they were attacked here by an army of Albanians, which for the horrid purpose of revenge had been picked out of the relatives and friends of those who had fallen in the wars of Suli. After a siege of several months, in which these miserable exiles bravely resisted the attempts of their enemies, Ali sent strong reinforcements with a severe reprimand to his officers, and orders for a general assault. Thus stimulated, the barbarians made another attempt which was attended with success: the Suliots were all put to the sword, except a few that escaped into Acarnania, whilst the women in a fit of desperation ran towards the Achelous and cast both their children and themselves into its stream.

The Suliot mountains being evacuated by their brave defenders, Ali repaired the towers and forts, and laid the foundation of that splendid fortified serai which now adorns the highest top of Kiaffa, and is the strongest post in all his dominions. In the mean time the poor Suliots, dispersed abroad amongst the neighbouring tribes, took refuge, some at Santa Maura and others with the Albanian beys; but the greatest part retired to Parga and Corfu: here they subsisted upon charity, or enrolled themselves in the service of their protectors, whilst the sight of their dark mountains towering above the Tzamouriot hills, and the thoughts of those days when they wandered about their native rocks free as the mountain storm, filled their hearts with melancholy recollections. A source from which they endeavoured to draw consolation

in their misfortunes was the composition of patriotic songs, which they sung upon the downfal of their country and the valour of her sons. The principal one of these, denominated (κατ' ἐξοχὴν) the Song of Suli, and still a great favourite in Albania, will be found subjoined in the margin below*, whilst a translation of it is offered to the English reader, in which the sentiments are all preserved, though in a few instances it was found impossible to adhere strictly to the simplicity of the original.

SONG OF SULI.

1.

Shall Suli submit to the foe?
Shall her brave palikars bend the knee?
Shall the fire in their hearts cease to glow,
Whilst Foto is gallant and free?

2.

Foto lives and is free—let them sneer:
He bows not his neck to a lord;
For his musket is Foto's vizir,
And Foto's pasha is his sword.

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* Μὴν προσκυνᾶτε πρὲ παιδία·
'Ραιάδες μὴν γενῆτε·
Εἶναι ὁ Φῶτος ζωντανὸς,
Πασιὰ δεν προσκυνάει.
Πασιὰ ἔχει Φῶτος τὸ σπαθὶ
Βεζήρι τὸ τηφέκι·
Εἰς τὴν Φραγγιὰν τὸν 'ξώριζον
Καὶ εἰς ἄλλα τὰ ῥηγάτα·
Πρὲ ν' ἀναθεμὰ σε Μπότζαρι
Καὶ ἐσένα Κυτζονίκα·
Μὲ τὴν δυλιὰν τὴν κάμεταν
Τῦτο τὸ καλοκάιρι·
'Πυ μπάσετε Βελῆ Πασιὰ
Μέσα 'στὸ Κακοσύλι·
'Ενα πυλάκι 'ξένυγανε
'Ανὰ μέσα εἰς τὴν Πάργαν.

Συλιότες τὸν ῥοτήσανε,
Συλιότες τὸν ῥοτήσανε,
Πυλάκι πόθεν ἔρχεσθε
Καὶ πῦ θὲ καταβαίνεις;
'Απὸ τὸ Σύλι ἔρχομαι
Καὶ 'στὴν Φραγγιὰν παγαίνω.
Πυλάκι πέσμας τίποτες
Κανὲν καλὸ χαμβέρη·
Τί τὸ χαμβέρη νὰ σὰς πῶ
Καὶ νὰ σὰς 'μολογήσω;
Πῆραν τὸ Σύλι, πήρανε·
Πῆραν τὸν Αβαρίκον·
Πῆραν τὴν Κιάφα τὴν κακὴν,
Τὸ Κιύγγι 'ξακυσμένο·
Καὶ ἐκάψαν τὸν καλόγερο
Μὲ τέσσαρες νομάτες·

3.

To Franghia* the hero is sped.
Oh! curse on each traiterous slave!
Cruel Cutzo and Botzari fled
From the ranks of the faithful and brave.

4.

To Parga's dark rock in the sea
A bird has directed its flight;—
" Bird, bird, from what crag dost thou flee?
Where ends thy sad journey to-night?"

5.

' On Suli's high crag is my nest:
To yonder green isle I repair.'
" So peace on thy downy wings rest,
Sweet bird, as its message they bear.

6.

" Then what news from dark Suli, sweet bird?"
' What news? Thou art free, palikar,
But at Suli no more shall be heard
Thy shout in the frenzy of war.

7.

' For Suli lies low and forlorn;
Avarico and Kiaffa renowned;
And Kunghi's high ramparts are torn
Into fragments and scattered around.

8.

' For the gallant Caloyer was there;
And he laughed as he lighted the train:
Oh! he laughed ere he soared up in air
To escape from the conqueror's chain.'

* i. e. to Corfu, for the Ionian islands are included in Franghia or the land of the Franks.

The generous mind, which knows how to respect valour and detest that baseness which can betray it, may feel some relief at knowing that of all those who sold themselves to Ali Pasha for the reduction of Suli not one escaped retribution by the rapacious fangs of him for whom they had thus stained their souls with crime. The chief instrument and prime mover of this treachery, who first induced Botzari to turn traitor, was named Palasca. A brief narrative of the principal events of this man's life may not prove uninteresting to the reader. He was first known as a robber at the head of a gang that infested the mountains of Zagori and Kolonia, where he pillaged caravans and plundered travellers to such a degree that Ali was obliged to send a large force against him and offer a considerable reward to the person who should take him prisoner. After a desperate conflict he was at length secured, brought to Ioannina, and condemned to the stake. On the morning however which was to have seen his execution, a person found means to interest the father of our host, old Anastasi Argyri, in his behalf, and induce him to request a pardon from the vizir. Anastasi accordingly went to the serai and urged his petition upon his knees before Ali. "Leave him to his fate, φίλε μου, leave him to his fate, for he is an incorrigible rascal," said the vizir. Anastasi however renewed his entreaties, which he seconded by slipping a diamond ring of great value upon a finger of the hand which he held in supplication. "Well then," replied Ali, "if it must be so, I give you the man; take him and do what you please with him: but I know you will repent this interference." Upon this the old gentleman went to the prison, carried off the culprit to his own house, kept him there for a month, and then dismissed him with a sum of money and abundance of good counsel. The first news he heard afterwards of Palasca, was, that he had organized a large band of desperadoes in the woods about Arta and Salagora, which they rendered almost impassable; and two months had scarcely elapsed before several bales of rich Genoa velvet, the property of Anastasi himself, were seized by this banditti. The old gentleman made

bitter complaint of this when he next visited his friend at the seraglio, but gained no other kind of pity except a loud laugh and a taunt respecting the caution which he had received. "Well, well," said Anastasi, "I will at least make one attempt for the recovery of my property." Upon this he went home and dispatched a messenger to Palasca with a letter, to which he received an immediate answer from the robber informing him that his goods were all restored at the dogana of Salagora, and that if the bales had been full of sequins not one should have been taken: he made an apology for neglecting his advice and following such a life, but pleaded the impossibility of inaction, or pursuing any other course but that to which he had been so long habituated. The outrages of this gang at length became so daring that Ali was obliged to send a little army against them, when Palasca was so hotly pursued that he deserted his company and fled for refuge to the rocks of Suli. There he lived for some time in good repute, married a daughter of the Captain Botzari, and led many parties of Suliots with great success against the forces of the vizir. At last it struck Ali, who knew the character of the man, that he might be converted into a fit instrument for the promotion of his designs. He therefore entered into communication with him by means of his selictar-agà, with whom Palasca was before acquainted, gained him over to betray those who had so hospitably received him, and through his influence persuaded Botzari also to act as a traitor to his country. Palasca was now not only pardoned but received into high honour by the vizir; was made a captain in his army, and accompanied him in his expedition against Paswan Oglou: there he so distinguished himself that he was soon promoted to a still higher command, and taken completely into confidence. Upon their return to Ioannina he was made a member of the divan and intrusted with many important commissions: amongst others was that of collecting the tribute in one of the districts of the pashalic. Here however the temptation became too strong, his old habits returned in full vigour, he ran off with the money, and again took

refuge in Suli. At the capture of this place he was one of that party who were attacked by the Albanians at the monastery of Seltzo, but with about fifty others made his escape and fled into the forests of Acarnania: there he took up again his old trade of robber with a large brigade, but was at last routed by Ali's troops, discovered by a shepherd amidst the reeds of a marsh, and carried off to Ioannina. There he found no Anastasi again to plead for him; but having had his skin flayed from his face, and his hands and feet chopped off, he was left to die by the side of the public road, a miserable spectacle to all beholders.

The Suliots had not long been banished from their country before they were engaged by Hassan Zapari and the beys of Tzamouria to attempt its recovery. Ali, after the reduction of Suli, refused to withdraw his troops from the Tzamouriot district, before all its sea-ports should be delivered into his power. In fact, for political purposes, he entered into an agreement to rent the duties of these ports from the Capudan Pasha; but the beys refused to pay the revenue into his hands, or allow his garrisons to collect it, though they expressed a perfect readiness to receive and pay any other officer whom the Porte should appoint. They now brought into the field about 7000 men, and retook the important fortress of Leftherochori, which Ali had occupied by a coup de main: but still fearing the event of the contest, they applied to the Russians in Corfu for assistance, and allured the Suliots to join their cause, with the hope of recovering their native mountains. From Count Mocenigo at Corfu, they received an auxiliary force of Albanian warriors, and the Suliots landed to the number of about 1500, at the mouth of the Acheron or Porto Fanari. The issue of this contest however turned out most disastrous to the independent cause. Ali took about forty towns and villages, with much plunder and many prisoners, and would at this time have conquered all Tzamouria, but that he thought it his best policy to act with forbearance and yield to

the desire of his adversaries for peace, which was mediated by the Turkish admiral Seramet Bey: thus he deceived the Porte by shewing a deference to its authority and pleading his own wish to preserve order and tranquillity as the sole inducement for taking up arms.

The Suliots in the mean time were very ungenerously treated by their allies, having been left in total want of clothes, ammunition, provisions, and every kind of assistance; nor was any attempt ever made to reinstate them in the land of their ancestors, though this had been held out as the chief inducement for their services. Thus deserted they fought their way back to Parga, repelling their enemies wherever they met them, and from thence retreated again to Corfu: there they accepted an offer of the Russian authorities to form a regiment in the Albanian battalion*, just as they were deliberating upon a plan of emigration, for the purpose of founding a republic in some other district of Greece.

The part taken in these affairs by the Russians served but to augment Ali's hatred against them; and his jealousy was this year (1805) still further alarmed by an event in the north of Albania, where the republic of Monte Negro, which is able to bring 20,000 muskets into the field, voluntarily took the oath of allegiance to the Russian government. The Russians on their part were equally jealous of Ali Pasha's increasing power, from whence they foresaw the most serious obstacles against their own designs upon European Turkey: hence they

* This battalion was commanded by a Russian officer named Bekendorff; and was increased and recruited by exiles from all parts of the continent who fled either from the tyranny or the justice of Ali Pasha. Each regiment consisted of nine companies, each company being commanded by a captain, two lieutenants and one ensign: the pay of a captain was only sixty piastres per month, of a lieutenant forty, of an ensign twenty-five, and a private nineteen. In the war which soon ensued between Russia and France this corps was employed in the Neapolitan expedition, and after the peace of Tilsit it passed into the service of the French under the command of Col. Minot. Foto Tzavella and Mosco his mother both held commissions, the former that of a captain, the latter of a major in this battalion, but resigned them, like many others from disgust at ill treatment, as well as from that inherent love in the Albanian for his native soil, which, as in the case of the Swiss, never forsakes him. Foto with forty men passed over to Ioannina, threw himself at the feet of the pasha, made the προσκύνησις or adoration, and was received into his service. Mosco who accompanied him married a second husband, and was living in that capital at the time of our residence there.

sought by every method to counteract his designs and controul his movements; but not succeeding in any of their enterprises for want of spirit, activity, and proper intelligence, they always involved the poor Greeks in the most serious calamities, and promoted the very plans which it was their intention to oppose. They did however succeed in counteracting his machinations at Constantinople, where he began to put all his arts in practice to gain permission for re-occupying the ex-Venetian towns, or at least to get the appointment of the commissioner vested in himself, which would have led to the same result.

About this time also the rapid progress of the French arms in Dalmatia excited his apprehensions, and in this dilemma he turned his views towards the English government, with which he had continued to carry on an active correspondence through Lord Collingwood, the successor of Lord Nelson in command of the Mediterranean fleet. Hence it was that Major Leake, who had this year been sent upon a commission to Ioannina, was detained to take a military survey of the country and point out the best means of defence against an invading enemy. In these measures Ali was employed, building fortresses, reforming his police, clearing the country of banditti, and above all endeavouring to sow dissensions in the neighbouring states, of which he might take advantage, when the victory of Austerlitz, which was followed by the union of Illyricum and Dalmatia with the French empire, made him think it prudent to recover the favour of the Emperor. Bonaparte having at this time serious designs upon European Turkey, did not think proper to repel his advances, but even sent him some very valuable presents through General Massena. Ali himself declares that he offered to make him independent king of Epirus; but he has no document to prove the truth of this assertion.

As Russia still continued in hostility with France and at the same time manifested designs of aggrandizing herself at the expence of Turkey, Ali thought the opportunity was now arrived for attacking that power in the Ionian islands, and of establishing an authority there

which he had long ardently desired. He sent a request to Bonaparte that a French resident might be established in his capital, and Mr. Pouqueville was selected for that important office with the title of consul general, whilst his brother was appointed vice-consul under him at Prevesa.

The French minister at the Porte at this time governed the councils of the Divan, not only by the influence of his emperor's success but by the bribes which he distributed amongst its members. Through his interest Ali procured the pashalic of Lepanto for his son Mouchtar and that of the Morea for Vely: in return he assisted Sebastiani in promoting the rupture which succeeded between Turkey and Russia, at the very commencement of which he obtained the permission he so eagerly coveted of re-occupying the continental dependencies of the Ionian islands. Upon taking possession of Prevesa he reduced that unfortunate place by systematic oppression to the state of abject misery in which it is now seen. Having, in defiance of the treaty of 1800, deprived most of the original proprietors of their lands and houses, which he distributed amongst his Mahometan followers, he demolished two-thirds of the city, overthrew the churches, laid the foundation of a splendid seraglio for his own residence, and built a spacious mosque. All this was done not only to prevent any European state from taking an interest in its restitution, but to furnish a plausible pretext to the Ottoman Porte for refusing ever after to restore a *Turkish* city to the protection of an infidel power. Vonizza also and Butrinto were in like manner ruined, though these places in the height of their prosperity were insignificant if compared with Prevesa. Parga luckily escaped this storm by receiving a Russian garrison from Corfu into its fortress.

Ali nevertheless anticipating the completion of his views upon the Seven Islands, strenuously urged Mr. Pouqueville to furnish him with artillery and engineers, engaging to push the war in this quarter so vigorously against the Russians, that they should be unable to annoy the French army of Dalmatia, or send any reinforcements to Cattaro,

the siege of which was now meditated by the French who were in great force at Ragusa. At the commencement of 1807 his wishes were gratified; he received both artillery-men and stores, conveyed in a gun-boat and a corvette from the kingdom of Naples, whilst Colonel Vaudoncourt, a skilful engineer, who had been dispatched upon a mission by Marmont to the beys and pashas of Erzegovina, Albania and Epirus, remained in his dominions to superintend operations. This officer in a dispatch to Marshal Marmont, which I have seen, affirms that he had no difficulty in developing the motives and estimating the probable services of all the other chieftains whom he visited, but he describes Ali Pasha as a man arrived at the head of an independent state by a complicated series of the most enormous crimes, during which he had by forty years practice acquired a dissimulation perfectly impenetrable: falsity had become his habitual character and his hardened soul never betrayed by the least external agitation the passion lurking within: accustomed to sacrifice without mercy all the agents in those transactions which he was not willing to avow, a bloody and impervious veil covered all his manœuvres. In the commencement of his residence at Ioannina this officer proceeds to say that he was deceived by the vizir's apparent symptoms of good faith, by the frankness of his protestations and the calm physiognomy of his open countenance; but he soon began to entertain suspicions of his character and designs by the solicitude shewn to mislead him with regard to his military resources, by the discrepancy observable between his discourse and actions, by the constant fears expressed lest the French Emperor should demand the restoration of the ex-Venetian towns, by the merit he made of the fortress which he was constructing at Prevesa, and the fluctuation of his projects regarding Parga and Santa Maura: all which things proved that Ali had views and interests perfectly distinct from his allies, and he soon found that these centred in his own occupation of the septinsular republic at the conclusion of the war. Every subtile art was put in practice to dis-

cover whether Mons. Vaudoncourt possessed any secret order respecting such an arrangement; in the mean time Ali was constantly making a display of his services, agitating his presumed rights over the islands which he affects to say constitute an integral part of the Epirotic territory, expressing his expectations of a recompence, or endeavouring at any rate to elicit a promise of reimbursement in case the cession of any place should be required. The colonel did not think proper to destroy these hopes lest he should detach him at once from the French interests, and though he longed to send a statement of his surmises to Marshal Marmont, he was restrained by knowing that his dispatches would be opened, and he was not in possession of a cipher. A single intercepted dispatch might have caused Ali to take measures injurious to the welfare of the Dalmatian army, whilst his ulterior views could do no harm, and the very belief felt throughout Europe that he was attached to the French cause might in reality prove beneficial to it.

In the mean time Ali continued his exertions with extraordinary activity: he endeavoured to intrigue with the Tzamouriots and Paramithians, for the purpose of carrying Parga by a coup de main, but in this he failed. Under the direction of Colonel Vaudoncourt he threw up works round Ioannina, strengthened his serai of Litaritza, and constructed those forts and lines at Prevesa which have been already described, and which are formidable when compared with Turkish fortifications in general: but his unconquerable avarice, and his insecurity with regard to indemnification, upon the restoration of the place being demanded, caused him to thwart his engineer in every plan: however as the object of this latter was only to keep the Russians in check, he submitted quietly to all the vizir's caprices, and left him a work which is but partially constructed according to the rules of art. Having thus secured Prevesa, he prosecuted the siege of Santa Maura with all possible activity, hoping to gain possession of that island before any general cession should be made, as no one knows better the value of previous occupation. His army encamped

on the beach of Playa, where the channel of the Dioryctos is narrowest; it consisted of 8000 Albanians under command of his old general Usuf Araps, and to this were opposed on the side of the Russians about 2000 troops of the line, with a multitude of the Suliots, Ali's inveterate enemies, augmented by numerous deserters who fled from his injustice or his tyranny.

It is doubtful whether he would not have attained this object of his most ardent wishes, had it not been for a well-timed diversion promoted by the Russians, which menaced the internal tranquillity of his states. This arose from a general insurrection of the Tzamouriots and Paramithians, in league with the pashas of Delvino and Berat; and if this latter had been a man of more decided character, Ali, instead of gaining Santa Maura, might have been driven out of Epirus. But he soon found means to divert Ibrahim from the alliance, sowed dissensions amongst the others, or checked them by his arms.

About this time our celebrated naval expedition sailed against Constantinople, the motives and conduct of which have been so mistaken and misrepresented by politicians on this side the water, that I think it right to state what opinions were entertained respecting it by those nearer to the scene of action.

Russia, in all her enterprises and political schemes, ever keeps her eye fixed upon the possessions of Turkey: she is also aware that she never can gain her point unless England be willing to assist or unable to oppose her. In the year 1806 that great northern power saw a favourable opening in affairs of which she endeavoured eagerly to take advantage. Knowing that England was alarmed at the preponderating influence of Bonaparte, she entered into an alliance with her offensive and defensive, and then succeeded in forcing Turkey into a contest by demands which she never would have made had she not been sure of the assistance of her new ally. At the very commencement of this war a powerful Russian army took military possession of the important provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and

the very existence of the Turkish empire in Europe was threatened. It was not long before England saw the ultimate aim of Russia, but she could not refuse her co-operation without a risk of throwing Alexander into the arms of Bonaparte; accordingly Admiral Duckworth received orders to advance with his fleet against the Dardanelles. That officer sent a frigate to Corfu, with an intimation to Admiral Siniavin that he expected his contingent, which was supposed to consist of about six ships of the line: instead of this however the Russian admiral immediately bent the sails of nearly thirty; which when our resident in that island observed, he instantly dispatched a confidential messenger overland, in the disguise of a Turkish dervish, to inform the British admiral of the fact, who, upon this intelligence, made all possible expedition, whilst his Russian ally delayed his course at the isles of Hydra, Spezie, and Poros, to procure additional vessels and to man his own. Admiral Siniavin was quite astounded when he met our fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles, on its return from Constantinople, against which it had not fired a shot: by this circumstance, whether it may be styled a lucky incident or a masterly manœuvre, the Turkish capital was saved from that destruction to which it had been devoted by the cabinet of St. Petersburgh. Had the Russian fleet once been permitted to anchor before Constantinople, an immense force was prepared in the Black Sea to co-operate from that quarter, and the armies on the Moldavian and Wallachian frontiers were ready to pour down upon their prey. At no time before was the Crescent ever in such danger, and it may be long ere Russia shall again be able to drive her adversary so far into the toils. The treaty of Tilsit took place soon after these events.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ali deserted by his French Allies—Sends an Envoy to the Conference at Tilsit—Seven Islands conceded to the French—Ali endeavours to gain Parga, but fails—His impolitic Revenge—Admits an English Agent to a Conference—Assists the English in making Peace with Turkey, and publicly espouses the British Interests—Expulsion of the French from five of the seven Islands—Ali takes Berat—Endeavours to gain possession of Santa Maura and Parga, but fails—Makes a Gain both of the English and the French—Conquers the Tzamouriot Beys—Subdues Kimarra—Mission of Mr. G. Foresti as English Envoy to Ioannina—Ali escapes the Danger of a powerful Invasion by the French Troops from Dalmatia and Corfu—Avlona taken and Ibrahim Pasha made Prisoner—Ali attacks Gardiki, conquers it, and massacres the Inhabitants—Murders the Pasha of Delvino—Takes Measures preparatory to putting Ibrahim to death—The Porte sends an Officer to inquire into his Conduct—Ali's Cunning—His Treatment of the French Consul—Alarmed at the Conduct of the Porte—Averts the Storm—Endeavours to bribe General Denzelot and Mr. Pouqueville to surrender up Parga to his Arms—Failing in this Attempt he attacks it with his Troops—Defeated before the City—Parga surrenders itself to English Protection—Subsequent Transactions relative to its History and final Delivery into the Hands of its inveterate Foe—Summary of Ali's Character—Views regarding his Successor, &c. &c.

WHEN the armistice was concluded between Russia and France, Ali was still occupied in prosecuting the siege of Santa Maura and

forming schemes for the extension of his power. But upon that event taking place, his French allies withdrew from the contest, and left him to his own resources. A Turk either has, or pretends to have, no notion of this etiquette and delicacy of conduct; Ali therefore affected great surprise at what he termed a base desertion, discovered traits of extreme ill humour, and spread the most extraordinary rumours and alarms throughout Albania, being almost thrown off the balance of that equilibrium which it was still necessary for him to sustain. He however dispatched a messenger to the congress at Tilsit, endeavouring to gain by negotiation what he had failed to take by force. His envoy had formerly been in the service of Bonaparte himself. He was originally an Italian friar, and chief inquisitor at Malta, from whence he accompanied the French army to Egypt, as interpreter of languages: on his return to Europe, after the battle of the Nile, he was taken by a Turkish privateer, and sent as a present to Ali Pasha at Ioannina: there he met with a call to the Mahometan faith, into which he was admitted under the name of Mahmet; he insinuated himself into the good graces of a beautiful young Turkish damsel whom he married, and of his sovereign whom he served with such zeal in various negotiations that he was now appointed ambassador and plenipotentiary at this important conference. Here, however, his eloquence was of no avail, and he returned to Ioannina, announcing the cession of the Septinsular republic to the dominion of France.

As soon as this cession was made, and the arrival of Cæsar Berthier as governor-general made known, Ali thought it a favourable opportunity of attempting to gain possession of Parga. With that view he sent his second minister of state, Sechrì Effendi, to Corfu, accompanied by the schoolmaster Psalida, who urged his demands with so many plausible pretexts, and supported his claims so adroitly from the tenor of that treaty which he had himself so shamefully violated, that Berthier, who had received orders from Bonaparte to humour

the vizir, and concede to him any reasonable request, was upon the point of surrendering up the place. Just at this time a deputation arrived from Parga to counteract the wiles of their inveterate adversary, and so forcibly did these patriots display his insidious arts, their own long attachment and connexion with the Ionian government, and their unshaken determination to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their independence, that even Berthier was moved to compassion, and felt his soul animated by certain feelings of generous enthusiasm. He entered heartily into the cause of the Parghiotes, and exerted himself so effectually with the French emperor, that the city and territory were taken under protection, and definitively annexed to the Ionian government.

Ali's ambassadors returning with the purpose of their mission uneffected, excited in his mind a strong feeling of hatred against the French interests; at present however he did not dare to break with them; but it is scarcely possible that he should long remain amicable with any power that possesses the Ionian islands. Soon after the failure of these negotiations, he took an opportunity of retaliating in a manner not quite consistent with his interests. The authorities in Corfu became so distressed for money, owing to a strict blockade by the English fleet, that they sent a deputation to the vizir requesting him to accommodate them with a loan. His refusal was accompanied with a haughty intimation, that the pasha of Ioannina was neither a banker nor a merchant. Now if Ali had not thus permitted his feelings of hatred or avarice to counteract his schemes of policy, he would have rather doubled the sum required, and made the French his debtors to as large an amount as possible: then a prohibition of supplies, aided by the English blockade, would soon have upset French philanthropy, and Parga would have been transferred to him as a redemption of the debt. Instead of this he irritated them by every method in his power, imposing enormous duties upon the corn and cattle exported from Albania, and demanding the money to be paid in advance.

At length, Berthier, incensed in his turn, declared his intention of forcing Ali to restore the other three continental dependencies, and Butrinto first, that being situated exactly opposite Corfu, at the narrowest part of the channel, and called the key of the island which itself is styled the gate of the Adriatic. Had the French general at this time acted with promptitude, he might have taken the place with 500 men; but he delayed till the vizir had thrown a garrison into it of 6000 Albanians, and the opportunity was lost. Ali then openly defied all attempts, and in addition to his hatred, conceived a contempt for his adversary. Lest the French should attempt to recover Prevesa, he moved his army from Playa into that place, and completed the sum of its misfortunes. In the autumn of 1808, a British agent was dispatched to hold a conference with him at this place, and take advantage of the growing inclination which he daily felt towards the English, whose naval power he foresaw would prove the greatest obstacle, or the best auxiliary to his future designs. Our envoy landed, and was met at midnight by Ali, upon the ruins of Nicopolis. There they concerted their plan of operations, and parted before the morning dawned. This secrecy was adopted to keep all knowledge of the fact from the French consul, whom the vizir had invited that day to a rural fête near Vonizza, on the gulf of Arta. He there left his guest in the midst of amusements: a swift-sailing boat conveyed him across the gulf, where a horse was in readiness, upon which he mounted and galloped towards the plain.

Ali now became actively engaged in close correspondence with the commanders of our fleet, for the purpose of bringing about that peace between Turkey and Great Britain, which Sir A. Paget endeavoured in vain to negotiate. Mr. Adair, who arrived at the Dardanelles in the latter end of 1808, had just opened a communication with the Turkish Divan, when the insurrection of the janissaries, and the death of the Vizir Mustafà Bairactar threw every thing into confusion. Our minister was upon the point of quitting his station in despair, but Ali,

who is suspected, and I believe not without reason, of having assisted in fomenting this insurrection, as well as that of the Nizam Djedid under Sultan Selim*, wrote instantly to Mr. Adair, and earnestly requested him to wait the event. His advice was followed; his interest had great weight in the Divan, and in a short time the peace was concluded. During this negotiation Ali took advantage of the opportunity it afforded of attempting to engage Mr. Adair in a promise of co-operating with him in the reduction of Parga: that gentleman, however, not only contrived to elude so disgraceful a compact, but very adroitly prevented the vizir from attempting it alone and unassisted. As soon as preliminaries of peace were signed, Ali dispatched an envoy named Seid Achmet Effendi to England, to enhance as much as possible the services rendered by his master to the British cabinet. These indeed were considered so important, that by way of acknowledgment a very fine park of artillery, with several hundreds of the newly-invented Congreve's rockets, were sent him on board a transport: Major Leake, who had the care of this artillery, was ordered to remain, to teach his Albanian troops the use of it, and to act as English resident.

Ali now publicly espoused the interests of Great Britain; opened his ports to our merchants or cruisers, and granted supplies on the most liberal terms for our navy, and the armies in Spain and Portugal. Availing himself of the importance which this new alliance gave him, as well as the co-operation of our blockading squadron, which prevented the French or Russians from furnishing his enemies with any species of assistance, he began to attack them in good earnest. Another event soon occurred, in the autumn of 1809, which gave addi-

* His motive is evident. The Nizam Djedid, as well as the regulations of Mustafà Bairactar, were calculated to infuse new vigour and energy into the Turkish state, by reforming the army, abolishing the janissaries, and introducing European improvements into all branches of the government. The old system of things is much more agreeable to a rebellious pasha, who sets up a sovereignty independent of the Porte.

tional strength to his hopes and energy to his measures. This was the expulsion of the French from Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, and the consequent occupation of these islands by the English. At this time he was engaged in the siege of Berat, in the north of Albania, whose citadel, planted upon a lofty hill on the right bank of the river Apsus, was hitherto considered as impregnable. Ali however pressed the siege with so much vigour, bombarding the citadel and town from the opposite heights, and terrifying both the garrison and inhabitants with those newly-invented instruments of destruction the Congreve rockets, under the direction of an English engineer officer, that Ibrahim Pasha was obliged to capitulate upon condition of retiring with his suite and treasures to Avlona. Ali, in his carriage, surrounded by his troops, waited on the left bank of the river till Ibrahim had passed over the bridge, then entered and took possession of Berat, not only without the sanction but even without the knowledge of the Porte. He thought it proper however to send a dispatch to Constantinople, informing his sovereign that a great part of Upper Albania being in a state of revolt, and Ibrahim Pasha not only incapable, by reason of his age and other infirmities, to restore order, but lying under strong suspicions from his attachment, first to the Russians, and lately to the French, he had thought proper to secure this important fortress with troops that could be relied on. He also sent very large sums of money to be distributed among the members of the Divan, and thus procured not only pardon, but approbation from the Sultan, who yielded immediately to his request of conferring the government upon his son Mouchtar. The three tails however were not taken, as is usual in case of losing a pashalic, from Ibrahim, whose character was held in high esteem both at Constantinople and in his own dominions. This success threw into the hands of Ali, not only the strongest fortress, but the finest province of Upper Albania, for the great plain of Musakia is the very granary of the country. He at first used his victory with great moderation, lest the people, if persecuted, should join the stand-

ard of their former chief, the remembrance of whose virtues could not soon be eradicated from their minds.

Leaving this new acquisition in the hands of his faithful follower Usuff Araps, Ali returned speedily to his capital, to take every possible advantage of our success in the Ionian sea. During the bombardment of Santa Maura by the British troops, he encamped opposite that island with a large force, anxious to find some opportunity of mingling in the affray, and urging his own claims to the occupation of the island: these he pressed vehemently after its surrender, but being unable to substantiate them; he deceived our commanders, by cunningly gaining permission to build barracks for his soldiers; instead of which he threw up two strong fortresses, each of which commands an entrance into the Dioryctos or channel, and one of them even the castle of Santa Maura.

But though Ali could neither gain from his British allies the possession of Santa Maura, nor persuade them at this time to drive the French out of Parga, that he might himself occupy that fortress, he did not think it his interest to shew any signs of ill humour at present: he still had a great game to play, in which no ally could afford him such material assistance as England. He was placed in a most advantageous position between the great rival powers, and he was determined to make the most of it. Five of the islands were under the protection of the British, and two under that of the French; the former courting his assistance, and the latter dreading his enmity. In this conjuncture of circumstances he played his cards admirably. He encouraged us to blockade Corfu under promise of co-operation, whilst he took advantage of its distress to introduce provisions secretly for his own gain and profit. Forging letters of correspondence between the French generals and Ibrahim Pasha, or the rulers of other states upon the coast of Albania, he very easily procured the assistance of our naval commanders in all his enterprises; whilst those hardy and warlike tribes who had hitherto resisted his aggressions, because their own

valour had been seconded by the powers which possessed the Ionian Isles, finding their succours from thence cut off, and their offers of devotion rejected, were obliged to surrender unconditionally to his arms, or run the chance of war and extermination. Amongst those who chose the former alternative, was Pronio Agà of Paramithia, and the famous Hassan Zapari of Margariti, both of whom, after capitulation, were thrown into a dungeon at Ioannina, where probably they still remain. The Kimarriots, descendants of the ancient Chaonians, and the bravest people of Epirus, whose very trade was war, defended their rugged mountains to the last extremity, fighting sword in hand with very little intermission for three successive days, after they had expended all their ammunition. Ali however had gained possession of their principal village, called Vouno, by his old art of bribery*, and falling upon the rear of these warriors, cut the greatest part of them to pieces. The country then surrendered, and the vizir having garrisoned its strong holds, carried 250 hostages to Ioannina, for the peaceable conduct of the inhabitants: he has since thought proper to wreak his vengeance upon this unfortunate tribe, banishing them all to various parts of his dominions, and burning all their villages to the ground, except one only, named Cutzi, containing about a hundred Greek families, whom he permitted to remain, upon condition of their conversion to the faith of Mahomet. The great protector of the Kimarriots in former wars had been Giaffer Pasha of Avlona, a man of great talents and high reputation, whose death Ali procured by poison, in a bath at St. Sophia.

It was during these operations, in the spring of 1810, that Mr. George Foresti arrived at Ioannina in character of English resident, whose services to this country during the time he held so delicate and even dan-

* It was put into his hands by means of four brothers of the name of Casnezzi, who resided for some years afterwards in great distinction at Ioannina: when however Ali thought proper to lay waste Kimarra, he deprived these men of all their wealth, and threw them, with their wives and families, into prison, where they still remain: and thus he generally serves the traitors whom he has employed.

gerous an appointment, have been such as no one can well appreciate who is not acquainted with the difficulties he had to encounter. A Greek by birth, and endowed with the sagacity of his nation, possessing the advantages of a liberal education, wary, cautious, and indefatigable in labour, intimately acquainted with the character of the vizir, he never ceased to penetrate his designs, avert his indignation, and keep him constant in that line of policy which ultimately contributed to preserve Europe from the degrading yoke of French tyranny. Nor was his situation by any means an enviable one: many incautious promises which it was impossible to perform, had been made to Ali by our agents, for securing his support, and there were not wanting persons who gladly took advantage of such cases to prejudice the vizir's mind and avert his favour from the English minister. That gentleman however having adopted a plan of great forbearance and inflexible fortitude, defeated every attempt made to counteract his influence with the pasha, and though he constantly exhibited an inclination of bettering the condition of his own country as well as of guarding strictly the interests of that which he had the honour to serve, he continued till the very end of the war to possess greater influence over the mind of this extraordinary potentate than was ever exercised by any other human being.

In this year Ali escaped the greatest danger with which he had hitherto been threatened. This was no less than a plan of operations concerted between the French generals, and sanctioned by the Porte, to attack him by a force from the island of Corfu and at the same time by a large corps under Marshal Marmont from Dalmatia. Nothing but our success in Spain, which called Marmont's army to that quarter, preserved him from destruction: the French however never totally gave up the plan, and would have made the attempt from Corfu alone but for the intervention of a British fleet.

Poor Ibrahim Pasha had been implicated in the formation of this enterprise, and was now left alone to resist the attack of his irritated

and powerful adversary. Ali besieged him so closely in Avlona, whilst two English frigates blockaded the port against the introduction of supplies from the French, that Ibrahim fled with a few of his principal followers, in disguise, and took refuge in the mountains of Arberi or Liapurià. There he was soon after betrayed, and conducted by his conqueror in a species of mock triumph to the city of Konitza, from whence, after the lapse of a year, he was conducted to Ioannina and confined a close prisoner in a solitary tower, where this venerable old man, the father-in-law of Ali's two sons, may be seen like a wild beast through the iron bars of his dungeon.

The Pasha of Delvino, with the chiefs of Liapurià, Argyro-Castro and Gardiki, alarmed at the storm which they saw gathering around them, speedily assembled their forces, which were attacked and defeated by Ali in the plains between Argyro-Castro and Delvino. He then entered and took possession of this latter place, making prisoners two sons of Mustafà whom he sent to Ioannina and confined in a convent of the island. There these unfortunate youths languished in close custody at the time of our residence, shut out from every consolation of society and deprived of the sight of all human beings except their gaolers. Two others made their escape to Corfu where they were soon assassinated by an emissary of the vizir, whose bouyourdee was found in the villain's pocket, who confessed the fact just before his execution. Mustafà himself retired to Gardiki, and thus deferred the fate which ultimately awaited him. The great city of Argyro-Castro next surrendered after a short conflict, upon condition of becoming a chiflick, and the whole valley of the Druno, the richest and most populous in all Albania, fell entirely under the vizir's subjection. No place now remained for him to conquer except Gardiki: this had first offended him, and upon this he purposed to pour the vial of his wrath to the very dregs.

Gardiki, whose population was entirely Mahometan, surmounted a fine conical hill surrounded by an amphitheatre of the most splendid mountain scenery. Its constitution was a species of republic, each fa-

mily sending a representative to the general council, out of which thirteen members were chosen by vote to form the executive government. Their office was annual and they had power of life and death, though it was necessary for eight of them to concur in cases of capital condemnation. No person was allowed to carry arms within the city walls, and a murderer not only forfeited his life to the state, but also his property, both personal and real, to the family of his victim.

The Gardikiotes well knowing what they had to expect from the resentment of their ancient foe, prepared for the most vigorous defence, giving the command of their troops, amongst which were many chiefs and distinguished officers of other clans, to Demir Dosti, a general of consummate prudence and exalted courage, a descendant of that very person who had rescued Ali's mother and sister from the shameful treatment of his fellow citizens. The vizir's army was commanded by two of his most experienced officers, Usuff Araps and Emir Bey, and was so large that 500 horse-loads of calamboci were distributed daily in rations to the troops.

For a long time operations went on slowly and little more was effected towards the subjugating of Gardiki than the capture or destruction of its dependent villages and advanced posts. This delay was occasioned by Ali's own generals, who being aware of his vindictive intentions and willing to spare a population who professed the same religious faith as themselves, dispatched messenger after messenger to their master, representing the extreme difficulty of storming the place and requesting his permission to offer to the Gardikiotes the same terms of capitulation as were accepted by Argyro-Castro. Ali soon penetrated their designs, and determined to counteract them. Accordingly he sent for Athanasi Vayà, that military officer upon whose fidelity and discretion he can most rely, and dispatched him to the army with a large body of Greek and Albanian troops, giving him instructions to act promptly in combination with all the other Greeks of the army. Athanasi on his arrival at the camp assembled together

certain officers, shewed them the vizir's bouyourdee couched in the strongest terms, attached them to his own forces, and without the slightest communication with the Turkish generals, who dared not interfere, led them sword in hand against Gardiki. He first carried a large farm house at the bottom of the hill which had been entrenched and converted into a strong out-post: from thence he drove its defenders up a steep and narrow path leading towards the city, in which they took refuge as well as in a small fortress which commanded the ascent. The Greeks animated by the example of their leader, and joyful at an opportunity of exterminating a Mahometan tribe, followed through every difficulty and danger, forced the citadel, and soon gained possession of the city itself, which was given up to all the horrors of an assault in the very sight of the Turkish troops below. Very few persons escaped from slaughter or captivity. Amongst the prisoners were Mustafà Pasha, Demir Dosti, and a great train of beys and agàs: these were sent immediately under a strong escort to Ioannina, whither they were brought in a species of mock triumph and treated at first not only with kindness but munificence. This refinement in cruelty is not unusual with Ali when he wishes to make his victims feel more keenly a reverse of fortune. The other citizens of Gardiki were distributed through the different towns and villages in the vicinity, which became answerable for their appearance under the most dreadful penalties; whilst the unfortunate females, they who least deserved it, became conversant with calamity in its most frightful forms: after having been subjected to the brutal passions of the soldiery, they were conducted to that tigress in a human shape, Shaïnitza, at her palace in Libochobo: there their beautiful flowing hair was cut off close to their heads in the presence of that sanguinary monster, who first stamped it contemptuously under foot and then ordered that part of her divan to be stuffed with it upon which her unwieldy form is accustomed to repose: these innocent and unfortunate victims of inhuman cruelty were afterwards

turned out destitute upon the mountains, when the penalty of death had been proclaimed against any one who should harbour or relieve them.

After a few weeks Ali departed, at the head of a large body of troops, to Libochobo, to pay his sister a visit and congratulate her upon the satisfaction made to her violated honour. We may well suppose that the storm of vengeance now raging in his bosom was not allayed by the soothing entreaties of feminine compassion. Before he left Ioannina he gave orders that all the Gardikiote beys should be cast into close confinement in the monasteries of the island, whilst secret instructions concerning them were left with his agents. During his residence at Libochobo he commanded all the prisoners to be brought from the surrounding districts on a certain day and hour into the court of a large han called Valiarè in the valley of Deropuli, about five miles from Argyro-Castro, near the commencement of the Gardikiote territory. Thither he proceeded at the appointed time with about 3000 of his troops. Seated in his carriage at the gate of the han he ordered each person to be called out separately before him, and when he had minutely investigated his age, parentage and profession, he ordered a few to be carried into a place of security (those probably who had been settlers in the place since the insult which he was about to revenge) and the rest he remanded back into the court of the han. He then commanded his troops to advance, who were well aware of the service upon which they were about to be employed: the Mahometans all held back, but the Greeks eagerly mounted the walls which surrounded the area wherein the prisoners were enclosed. Ali then took a musket from the hands of a soldier, and having ordered the han gates to be thrown open, discharged the first shot into the crowd of victims: this was the signal for a general massacre; the surrounding troops fired amongst them till their ammunition was expended, when others succeeded and continued the work of death. The fury of despair ministered arms to some of these wretched prisoners, who with stones torn from the pavement and the walls wounded

many of their destroyers: others retreated into one of the apartments of the han, to which fire was immediately applied, and those who escaped the volleys of musketry fell a sacrifice to the flames. In the mean time, a few having burst out of the area, came in despair and flung themselves at the feet of the vizir and cried for mercy in accents that might have moved a heart of flint; but Ali's heart is harder than flint, and not a single rill from the fount of mercy flows into his soul: he ordered his chaoushes and kaivasis to cut the imploring suppliants in pieces with their ataghans before his face. The bloody work was thus completed, when the bodies, amounting to between seven and eight hundred, were left unburied to rot upon the spot where they had fallen; the gateway of the area was walled up and an inscription placed over it cut in stone, which signifies, THUS PERISH ALL THE ENEMIES OF ALI'S HOUSE*.

On the very day of this butchery the Gardikiote beys who had been left at Ioannina to the number of seventy-two, were brought down to a convent upon the island opposite Mitzikeli, where they were all strangled, their bodies conveyed in boats to the opposite shore and buried at the foot of the mountain. From the han Ali proceeded with his troops to the once flourishing city of Gardiki, which he laid in ruins, placing it under an anathema or curse, and prohibiting it from ever again becoming the habitation of man during the continuance of his dynasty in Albania. The property of its citizens he had before converted to his own use, and as they were great merchants, he kept an accurate account of all the debts found due to them, and exacted the most punctual payment. This then is the fate of Gardiki: its walls demolished, its policy dissolved, its riches dispersed and its people massacred, it has

* An Albanian poet afterwards wrote a long inscription in Romaic verse, which with Ali's sanction was placed over the door of this han. The reader will find it in the Appendix with a translation. The whole transaction at the han may be compared with one related by his biographer of the deified Augustus. "Perusia capta, in plurimos animadvertit: orare veniam vel excusare se conantibus una voce occurrens MORIENDUM ESSE. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dedititiis electos utriusque ordinis, ad aram Divo Julio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos."

become a dwelling place for owls and the coiled serpent basks within its desolated courts.

Every Gardikiote that was subsequently discovered within the dominions of Ali was arrested and put to death, when his corpse was sent to augment the mouldering heap of his unfortunate countrymen at the han of Valiarè. The vizir was grievously offended with his son Vely, who refused to put to death some Gardikiotes in his service or surrender them up. It is scarcely necessary to observe that Ali glories in this deed, which he considers one of just and pious retribution. It occurred on the 15th of March, 1812.

When the vizir returned to Ioannina he gratified a revenge, not less bitter from its being protracted, upon his old antagonist Mustafà Pasha of Delvino. This wretched victim he confined in the same convent with his two sons, and gradually starved him to death, allowing him only one small piece of calamboci bread and one draught of water for his daily fare. His body was then publicly exposed in presence of the cadi and mufti, as is customary on the death of a pasha, to see whether there be any marks of violence upon the corpse: it was reported that he had died a natural death; but this report was little credited at Constantinople. A few months after this horrid murder, his cruelty or his policy demanded another sacrifice, and the destined victim was no other than the venerable Ibrahim. However, before he ventured to imbrue his hands in the blood of this respectable character he thought it necessary to discover whether such a deed were likely to arouse the indignation of the Porte. In order therefore to sound the feelings of the Divan, he put in practice the following manœuvre. On a certain day Ibrahim Pasha disappeared from his apartment in the tower. The messenger who was sent every morning by his daughters to inquire after their father's health, came back and reported the circumstance of his absence, adding that he had made all possible inquiries without being able to discover his abode. The daughters hearing this, and feeling convinced that their father had been secretly put to

death, set up the Albanian howl for the dead, in which they were joined by all the slaves of their harems as well as by the women of the adjoining mansions: from thence the cry was spread from house to house, and the whole city of Ioannina rung with lamentations during three days for this imaginary death of Ibrahim. The occurrence indeed was generally believed, and the French consul dispatched a courier with the intelligence to Constantinople. This messenger was stopped by the agents of Ali, his dispatches were read, and he was allowed to proceed. The news occasioned a strong prejudice against Ali in the minds of all. A council was called, and a capigi-bashee of the highest rank was sent to Ioannina with the sultan's commands to investigate the affair and bring back the depositions of the great officers of religion and the law. The messenger arrived, and being introduced into Ali's presence surrounded by all his ministers, stated the object of his mission, and produced his credentials, attested by the signet of the sultan. Ali affecting great surprise, exclaimed, "Dead! Ibrahim, my father, dead!" whilst all his divan followed him in expressions of incredulity and astonishment. Then turning to his two ministers, Mahomet and Sechri Effendi, he added, "Go and accompany this officer of the Porte to the apartment of Ibrahim, and let him see what falsehoods have been circulated respecting us." Accordingly they went and found the object of their visit in the very best apartment of the seraglio, surrounded by every thing which could minister to his comfort. Ibrahim being instructed in what to say, and threatened with the extremity of torture, if he should disclose the truth, requested the capigi-bashee to say to his lord the sultan—that he kissed the ground on which he trod, and was penetrated with the deepest gratitude for the honour of his kind inquiries; but that he was perfectly well and more than content with his condition at Ioannina, being treated in the kindest manner by the vizir, and rendered happy in the society of his daughters and their children; that he felt himself now grown too old for the cares of government, and that his domi-

nions could not possibly be under better administration than that of his dear friend Ali Pasha.

The capigi-bashee, having received this most unexpected answer, returned to the council-room, where he was thus addressed by the crafty Ali: "See," said he, "how I am surrounded by enemies! it is my misfortune always to excite suspicion, and to have my motives and actions misrepresented; and this was the case lately, on the death of Mustafà Pasha of Delvino: go now and report to my master the sultan all you have seen and heard, and assure him that Ali, in his old age, will not dishonour his grey hairs, nor act in opposition to the wishes of his sovereign." The capigi-bashee in the mean time was loaded with presents and magnificently entertained, but he was not allowed to be for a minute absent from Ali's satellites, who surrounded him and prevented the access of all who could have told him the truth: in like manner he was attended by a *guard of honour* to the very suburbs of Constantinople, where he gave a most favourable report of Ali's conduct, who in consequence received a letter of thanks from the grand signor. Ibrahim still remains alive in close confinement, from which, as far as he himself is concerned, death would be a fortunate release.

This affair being concluded, Ali, glad of the opportunity, resolved to retaliate upon the consul-general for his interference. Accordingly he interdicted all his subjects, except those who were employed as spies and informers, from holding the least communication with his dwelling, and thus, in the midst of a large capital, Mr. Pouqueville lived in a species of the most distressing solitude. To speak the truth, Ali had more reason for this conduct and for his irritation against the French, than for many other acts. A regular system had been for some time, and still continued to be carried on, between Monsieur Andreossy French minister at the Porte, the Duc de Bassano at Paris, and General Denzelot at Corfu, with the Consul-general of Albania, to create every species of annoyance in their power against

Ali Pasha, to stir up rebellion against him in his own country, or hostility from without, and most especially to represent him in his true character at Constantinople, to draw down upon his head the vengeance of insulted majesty. All this was well known; for not a single courier did Monsieur Pouqueville ever dismiss from Ioannina who was not arrested, and not a single dispatch did he write that was not copied for the vizir's inspection, who possessed the key of his cipher. It is also a fact that the Porte, irritated by the deceitful conduct of Ali during the whole of his eventful life, and instigated by these representations, did actually entertain serious ideas, in the year 1813, of attacking him in his strong holds. But, not to compromise the character of the Ottoman government in attempting what it might be found impossible to effect, commissioners were sent to inspect his country and make returns of his forces, his military and naval stores, castles, fortresses; all of which were freely and immediately offered to inspection.

Ali was at first alarmed by these demonstrations of energy, and assured a Greek gentleman of my acquaintance that he would defend himself to the last extremity, and if then pressed, would blow himself up, with his serai of Litaritza, rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Things however were not likely to arrive at this pass; he had made himself too useful to the English, and was considered likely to be too efficient in their cause, to be neglected when he had need of their assistance: it was thought therefore that the representations of our ambassador to the Divan had no little influence in averting this storm from the dominions of our ally. The arrival of a secretary from the English ambassador, a few months before our visit to Ioannina, was considered intimately connected with these arrangements, and this, amongst other things, contributed probably to the marked civility with which we were treated by the vizir.

During our residence in his capital those great events occurred which led to the destruction of Bonaparte's authority, and the ultimate re-

moval of the French from the Albanian confines. He knew that the English would soon either by force or treaty occupy the remainder of the Ionian islands, and he was now most anxious to take advantage of the declining state of French affairs to gain possession of Parga, that single solitary rock, which alone, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, was illuminated by the rays of liberty. Having failed however in the alluring temptations which he held out to Monsieur Pouqueville and General Denzelot, he determined upon one of those prompt movements which are so habitual to him, and for which he had been some time prepared, feeling little doubt but that if he should once gain possession of the place, he could find means to justify his conduct or appease resentment. Unauthorized then by his government, which at this time was at peace with France, and without any declaration of war, he moved that overwhelming force against unhappy Parga in the month of February, 1814, to which I have before alluded: at the same time he ordered his flotilla to sail from Prevesa for the purpose of aiding in the siege and intercepting all the inhabitants that might endeavour to escape to the islands: these directions, however, were rendered nugatory by the spirited conduct of some English cruisers, who refused to let his vessels approach.

On the 28th of February Ali's troops carried by assault Ajà and Rapesa, two frontier villages of the Parghiot territory, putting to death many of the inhabitants, and sending the remainder into a slavery still worse than death. After this a small fort was erected and the army advanced upon Parga; but the French garrison retired into the citadel without any show of resistance; the only opposition was made by the bravery of the inhabitants. These marched out with exultation to the defence of their country, accompanied even by their women and children, who handed ammunition and loaded the muskets of their husbands and their parents. The contest was neither long nor sanguinary; for the Parghiots having the advantage of ground and shelter, effectually checked the vizir's troops, especially his

cavalry, as they charged up a narrow causeway leading to the city, that they were obliged to retreat after losing several of their companions, among whom was a near relation of Ali's, the commander of the Albanian forces: the body of this young man was buried on the frontier, and a mausoleum erected over his remains, at which it is thought that Ali was resolved, if he took the place either by storm or capitulation, to immolate his adversaries in what he would call an expiatory sacrifice.

In spite of this victory, however, the poor Parghiotes had sufficient cause to tremble, while such numerous and active enemies remained hovering over their borders, and their defenders were so inert in their behalf. They had still further reason for alarm, when they discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on between their inveterate foe and the commandant of the French garrison. In this dilemma they dispatched a message to Captain Garland, who had lately taken possession of the little island of Paxo, and requested to be received under British protection. This was referred to General Campbell, the governor of the Ionian isles, who immediately dispatched the Honourable Sir C. Gordon with a force ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstances. Captain Hoste, of the Bacchante frigate, and Captain Black, of the Havannah, met this officer at Paxo, and entered into consultation respecting the proper measures to be pursued; when it certainly does appear to have been determined that if the Parghiotes would, as of their own accord, disarm the French garrison and give guarantees for the sincerity of their intentions, they should be taken under British protection and follow the fate of the Ionian islands*.

* "The fortress of Parga is considered as an appendage of the Government of the Seven Ionian Islands, and more particularly as an outwork of the garrison of Corfu towards the Turkish frontier. In consequence of its situation on the main land of Greece, its commanding position as a place of strength, and the increased preponderancy the possession of it would not fail to throw into the hands of the Turks, and more particularly the vizir Ali Pasha of Ioannina, whose pashalic surrounds it, it has ever been an object of much jealousy with those powers, who have made many efforts to obtain a footing in Parga, and, vice versâ, for these same motives, it has been equally the wise

To these conditions the Parghiotes cheerfully consented, and with the utmost secrecy they organized a plot for taking possession of the citadel. An English flag, concealed under the girdle of a boy, was brought into the fortress without exciting suspicion; a signal was given by ringing a bell to the conspirators, who rushed forwards, disarmed the centinels, seized upon the rest of the garrison, and hoisted the British standard in place of the tri-coloured flag. Only one man lost his life in this almost bloodless conspiracy; he was a Cephalonian in the French service, and commissary of police, who thrusting his head out of a window, with loud exhortations to blow up the magazine, was instantly shot. The inhabitants being now in full possession of the place, Sir Charles Gordon landed with a detachment of British troops from the Bacchante, sent off the French garrison under terms of capitulation to Corfu, and took possession of the place on the 22d of March, 1814.

The subsequent history of this unhappy state is as difficult to handle as it is painful to dwell upon: for the Englishman who shall record its annals will find himself constantly perplexed by an apparent breach of faith and violation of a compact which is complained of,

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policy of the powers occupying the Seven Islands, and Corfu in particular, to maintain firmly their hold of that fortress and its territory." These are General Campbell's Instructions to Lieut. Brutton, who commanded at Parga in May 1815, and General Campbell was the officer and High Commissioner with whom the Parghiotes treated for the surrender of their country to the British flag. See Col. de Bosset upon Parga, p. 90. The main point upon which this question turns, is the compact, made or implied, between General Campbell and the Parghiotes, respecting their surrender to the British flag. If their surrender was conditional, as the instructions of that officer above quoted seem to prove, it will follow that our delivering up Parga to Ali Pasha was unjust, and it will not be enough to say that no mention was made of Parga in the treaties of Paris or Vienna. Turks alone would justify such a proceeding by such an argument. If the surrender of the Parghiotes was unconditional, I still think the measures pursued were cruel and impolitic, cruel, because the inhabitants did not receive full compensation for their property, and could receive none for the rupture of moral ties and associations; impolitic, because the tide of feeling among the inhabitants of the Levant has been thereby turned against Great Britain; because some port on the Epirotic coast is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the Ionian Islands; and because Ali Pasha, so far from having a claim upon Parga, was rather bound to restore all the other continental dependencies to their original constitution, since he, in the name of the Ottoman Porte, so inhumanly violated the treaty of March 1800; above all, because a Christian power is thus exhibited to the world as yielding up the rights of Christians to an infidel tyrant, rights which the very name of that power could have defended, and whose flag waving upon the fortress of Parga would have been a sufficient protection.

whether justly or unjustly, by the Parghiotes; whilst he will have need of extreme caution to prevent his involving innocent parties with the guilty, and to guide him in affixing blame where blame is due. In spite of this, the duty of an historian, when undertaken, must be impartially fulfilled.

Under the powerful ægis of Great Britain, Parga remained for about three years comparatively happy, increasing both in wealth and population, although the mention of its name was omitted in the treaties of Vienna and Paris, which consigned to English protection the Septinsular republic. Strange rumours however were soon set afloat, highly calculated to disturb the tranquillity of its citizens; but they were still unable to believe that a Christian power, so noted for its integrity, would give them up to their bloody and inveterate enemy: under this conviction their devoted attachment to their protectors was shown in every mode that a grateful, industrious, and moral people, like the Parghiotes, could possibly devise*: but whoever has perused the

* General Campbell, in his instructions to Lieut. Brutton, gives the following testimony to their character. "The inhabitants are Albanian Greeks, extremely tenacious of their freedom, and of the liberty of their small community, and habitually adverse to the dominion of the Turks. They are a spirited and independent people, though at the same time docile and easy of command when treated liberally and justly; and all the male population are trained to arms, and expert in the use of them."

The following is Colonel Leake's opinion of the Parghiotes (Researches in Greece, p. 413), in reference to an unfavourable notion of their character, which Mr. Hobhouse had unwarily contracted. "This character of the Parghiniotes is not just, and they are Greeks, not Albanians. Parga is one of those places which, being in a state approaching to independence, may be supposed to furnish the strongest resemblance to the ancient republics of Greece. Under the Venetians they enjoyed a municipality of their own and certain privileges, which, when they became vassals of Turkey, were secured to them by the powers who guaranteed the Septinsular republic. Hence at Parga property was more secure and industry more encouraged than at any place upon the continent of Greece; but their situation has been altered since the arrival of the French." Col. de Bosset's opinion of this unfortunate people is thus expressed: nor had any one ever a better opportunity of discovering their character than that officer. "The state of hostility which has always prevailed between the Parguinotes and the Turks, has rendered them brave, and has familiarized them to arms and dangers; they are temperate, and commonly attain an advanced age. The women of Parga are generally handsome; their dress is a jacket of cloth or silk, embroidered or trimmed with gold, with a long plaited petticoat. The hair is entwined with a double cord of red silk, and gracefully fastened up behind."

"The foreign garrisons which have occupied Parga at different periods, have had little influence on the manners of the inhabitants. They are attached to their ancient usages: their mode of life is simple; their women are chaste, though they enjoy the greatest degree of social freedom."

"They are hospitable, and one of the reasons for which Ali Pasha hates them and wishes to possess their country, is, that it afforded an asylum to the victims of his tyranny. Many examples might be

foregoing history of Ali Pasha, will be prepared to believe that his ambitious mind would not rest quietly when disappointed in a design which lay nearest his heart. His gold proved in this, as in many other instances, all-powerful at Constantinople. Parga was demanded by the Porte as the price of her acquiescence in our occupation of the Ionian isles; and a secret treaty consigned over to Mahometan despotism the last little spot of ancient Greece which had remained unpolluted by her infidel conquerors.

An article however was inserted in this treaty which provided that every person who emigrated should be remunerated for the loss of his property; and if the terms of this agreement had been fairly and strictly adhered to, the Parghiotes would not have had so much apparent reason to accuse their protectors of adding injustice to a cruel policy. The resolution of the high contracting powers was not communicated to this people before the month of March, 1817. It was then announced to them by the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands through the medium of Lieut. Col. de Bosset, with whom a reinforcement of 300 British troops were sent to repress all commotions, and secure the garrison from danger. It is but justice to that excellent officer to say that in this delicate situation, obliged by military duty to fulfil his orders, and urged by a natural generosity to give ear

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adduced of their hospitality. The protection which they afforded to the unhappy Suliotes who had escaped the sword of Ali, would alone establish their reputation for this virtue.

"Considered with respect to their neighbours and to their fertile soil and mild climate, they may be pronounced an industrious people. To be convinced of this, we have only to view the prosperity and smiling aspect of this little country, and to observe that by which it is bounded. Beyond the boundaries of the territory of Parga, every thing bespeaks desolation and tyranny. The eye discovers nothing but waste lands, abandoned to some scattered flocks, of which the shepherds are wretched slaves. Ruined and deserted dwellings announce to the traveller, that this country, ere it belonged to the Pasha of Ioannina, was less unhappy.

"Within these few years the inhabitants of that region have been torn from the land of their birth and transported to remote countries, without succour, without means of subsistence, and a great proportion of them have been already destroyed by sickness, want, and despair."

These accounts of the character of the Parghiotes were amply confirmed to me when I visited their country, by that excellent officer the Hon. Sir Charles Gordon, under whose government the people appeared to enjoy as great a degree of rational civil liberty, supported by firmness, and dignified by urbanity, as I ever recollect witnessing in any settlement occupied by the British arms.

to the pathetic remonstrances and despairing resolves of the miserable suppliants, he shaped his course in such a manner as to entitle him to the praise of the good and virtuous, the approbation of his own conscience, and the eternal gratitude of the unfortunate Parghiotes.

Considerable pains were taken in persuading this people to transfer allegiance to that intriguing foe who wished to become their sovereign; but in vain: a thorough knowledge of his character acquired by an experience of thirty years, saved them from this extremity of calamity. With one voice they resolved, if the decree against their beloved country was irrevocable, to beg their bread in foreign lands rather than be butchered in cold blood by a tyrant who had sworn to sacrifice every Parghiot to his implacable revenge. Who that has perused these pages will be surprised at their resolution? Under such circumstances Colonel de Bosset ordered an estimate to be taken of public and of private property. This amounted, on a very moderate calculation, to more than 500,000 pounds, a very small pittance for a well-built city* containing near 4000 inhabitants, and villages peopled with many more, in a tract of the most fertile territory that can be imagined, within a circuit of twenty miles, enriched with 81,000 olive trees, from which the finest oil in the Levant was made and exported on the most advantageous terms.

With this sum however the poor inhabitants professed themselves satisfied, and consented to be transported from the land of their birth, the sepulchres of their forefathers, the edifices of their religious worship, and all those sweet associations which render the name of our country so sacred. Ali Pasha however was not quite so contented, as he thought it very hard to pay any thing at all for a place which he always affects to consider his own by right of promise. Agents therefore were sent to him at Ioannina, who entered into a long and tedious negotiation, which was studiously protracted by Ali, for the

* The author has resided in Parga, and here speaks generally from observation.

purpose of gaining time and watching any opportunity that might occur for seizing his unguarded prey. In the mean time the poor victims had been deprived of their best friend: Colonel de Bosset, being considered an unfit agent in these transactions, was relieved from his post and departed for England: other commissioners were appointed to value the property of the Parghiotes; Ali poured his troops around their frontiers, and exerted every nerve to gain possession of the place by endeavouring to sow dissensions, to poison the water and bread of the inhabitants, to introduce a number of his adherents into the city by stratagem, and to terrify the people by the most horrid threats and menaces of vengeance unless they submitted to his authority. All these efforts however were rebutted by their constancy and vigilance: but being in daily expectation of seeing their country delivered over to their persecutor, they neglected either to sow the ground or to engage in commercial speculations; so that in addition to the rest of their miseries, famine and want began to stare them in the face. In this state of distress, augmented to the utmost by Ali's agents, who prohibited all supplies wherever his authority extended, the ministers of religion, joined by the primates, set a noble example of patriotism and liberality for the relief of their suffering brethren; and by their means a supply of corn, though scanty, was procured.

At length appeared the new valuation of property, for which a sum less than 150,000*l.* sterling was deemed an equivalent*! and

* This valuation was, I believe, made between British and Albanian commissioners alone! and no Parghiot was allowed a voice in what so intimately concerned his interests. If a fair estimate had been made of Parghiot property, I know Ali Pasha enough to say, that he never would have become the purchaser. Will any traveller in Greece, or any other person acquainted with the subject, say that 81,000 of the finest olive trees in the world (as the district in which Parga is situated is called Elaiatis by Thucydides, κατ' ἐξόχην, for the abundance and excellence of these trees) are not alone worth more than the whole sum given by Ali Pasha for the Parghiote territory? This I will venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that the *gathering* of the fruit alone in an abundant season is worth more than was given for the trees. "An acre planted with vines or *olives*, however arid or rocky the soil may be, will very easily be made worth ten times as much as an acre of the richest corn land." Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii. p. 138.

after some further delay, during which all remonstrances were answered only by threats, preparations were at length made for the evacuation of Parga, which took place on the 10th of April, 1819, during the festival of Easter.

The concluding details of this mournful history are extracted chiefly from the papers of the day, confirmed by the best authorities which I could procure. By the Lord High Commissioner's orders, the officer commanding the British garrison at Parga made known to the inhabitants, that according to arrangements made with Ali Pasha, a Turkish force was to enter their territory without delay; but that the English troops would remain for their protection until the emigration was completed. On receiving this intimation, which was confirmed by the appearance of a large Ottoman force, the Parghiotes, having held a consultation, sent to inform the commandant, that such being the determination of the British government, they had unanimously resolved, that should one single Turk enter their territory before all of them had a fair opportunity of quitting it, they would put to death their wives and children, and defend themselves to the last extremity against any force, Turkish or Christian, that should violate the solemn pledge which had been given them.

The English commandant, perceiving by the preparations that their resolution was fixed, instantly dispatched information to the Lord High Commissioner at Corfu, who sent to expostulate with the Parghiotes. When the British officers arrived at Parga, the inhabitants were disinterring the bones of their ancestors from the churches and cemeteries, and burning or burying them in secret places to prevent their profanation by the Turks. The primates, with the protopapas at their head, assured the officers that the meditated sacrifice would be immediately executed, unless they could stop the entrance of the Turks who had already arrived near the frontier, and effectually protect their embarkation. This appeared to be no idle threat, and fortunately means were found which prevailed with the Ottoman commandant

to halt his forces: in the mean time the Glasgow frigate, which had been sent from Corfu, having arrived, the embarkation commenced. It is said that the appearance of this brave people, kneeling down to kiss for the last time the land which gave them birth, and watering it with their tears, was a most affecting scene: some of them carried away a handful of the soil, to be a solace in their misfortunes, an inheritance to their children, a memento of their wrongs, and a stimulus to the recovery of their country: others took for the same purpose a small portion of those sacred ashes from their pile, which had been once animated by the spirits of their forefathers, and many carried away the bones which they had not time to burn. When the bands of Ali Pasha reached the walls, all was solitude and silence. The city, as it has been observed, received its infidel garrison as Babylon or Palmyra salutes the Christian traveller in the desert—nothing breathed, nothing moved; the houses were desolate, the nation was extinct, the bones of the dead were almost consumed to ashes, whilst the only sign that living creatures had been there was the smoke slowly ascending from the funeral piles*.

* In the above details, I profess myself to have been uninfluenced by any party feelings, and unexcited by any motives to detraction. I am totally unacquainted with the individuals connected, or supposed to be connected, with the cession of Parga, and no one, I think, who has read these pages, will accuse me of a desire to calumniate my country; a country whose constitution I venerate and whose very soil I love; but he who loves his own country best will be most tender of the rights of others, and I own I have been anxious that every shadow of reproach should vanish from the name of that country amongst foreign nations, and that its ancient character for honour and generosity should be preserved inviolate: having moreover been a resident upon the rock of Parga and also resident in Albania, when the tyrant, whose history I have undertaken to portray, made his first attempts against that republic, I felt called upon to detail fearlessly and impartially every circumstance of this unfortunate case, upon the authenticity of which I could rely. I presume not to blame any individual, I wish not to exasperate any party; but I wish earnestly to impress upon a Government which is always ready to correct any oversight in its political measures, the necessity of inquiring strictly and impartially into the conduct of its agents: it is very easy to oppress the oppressed, and it is certain that the whole continent rings with exclamations, not more at the decrees made against Parga than at the extreme *harshness* with which those decrees have been put into execution: a harshness very different from that *humanity* and *liberality* which appear so prominent in the speech of the Lord High Commissioner before the Legislative Assembly of the Ionian states, on the 7th of April, 1820. Let the reader weigh well in his mind the following paragraphs, which appeared in the same paper with his Excellency's speech, and then say whether some inquiry upon this important subject, which compromises the honour of a great nation, is not indispensable.

The unfortunate exiles are now principally at Corfu and Paxo, no longer a nation, no longer united by the same public and private ties; but houseless wanderers, either waiting for the distribution of that miserable pittance which is called a compensation for the loss of property, natal soil, and social existence, or living upon their *capital*, already drained down by many expenses, and reducing themselves slowly to want and beggary. In the mean time the fierce implacable tyrant triumphs in their ruin and glories in his success at having wrested this last tract of Christian land from the hands of Christians. "As we pursued our way," says an enlightened English traveller*, "over the Thessalian plain, the Albanians frequently burst forth into clamorous war-songs in praise of the

"On the 23d of November last a notification on the part of Sir Thomas Maitland was made to the Parguinote emigrants who are still at Corfu, informing them that, *upon consideration*, his excellency intended *to reimburse to them the deduction made for freightage of the money brought on board the English frigate Ganymede*, Captain Spenser, from Prevesa to Corfu, *and other expenses*; but that he should expect from them, after such reimbursement, a receipt in full for the value of the property they had left at Parga. They were also informed that, should the Ionian government have any unoccupied lands, a grant would be made to them, and a church built at the expense of that government.

"The answer of the Parguinotes was, that if the deduction in question had been improperly exacted, they did not conceive that any conditions could be imposed on restoring the amount to them; that no consideration, not even the distress which many of them were suffering at the time, should induce them to give an acknowledgment for an indemnification of which they had received only a part. That if it was his excellency's intention to grant them lands, they begged that such lands should be specifically pointed out, that it might be seen whether they were really susceptible of cultivation, or sterile and uncultivatable, like the little island of Meganizi, of which mention had originally been made; that they had sent deputies to England to obtain redress for the wrongs they had sustained; and that, until an answer was received, it was not in their power to enter into any new arrangements.

"Another account states, that Ali Pasha has lately made an official application to the British government, for reimbursement of the money which he has paid into the hands of Sir Thomas Maitland, for the indemnification of the Parguinote emigrants who abandoned their property. The reasons assigned by him for this extraordinary reclamation are said to be principally founded on the violation of two secret agreements made between him and Sir Thomas Maitland. The first relates to a promise which he pretends to have been made to him, that the British government should assist him in paying the indemnity due to the Parguinotes, which promise was not fulfilled, he having been obliged to pay the whole of the reduced indemnity, amounting to 150,000*l*. The second refers to a compact made at Prevesa, at the time Sir Thomas Maitland received the abovementioned sum, according to which Ali was authorized to send to Corfu one of his agents, to be a member of the commission appointed to settle the claims of the Parguinotes; and this compact he declares to have been violated also, since his deputy was not allowed to continue in that commission, although he was received and installed as one of its members, on which exclusion the agent entered a formal protest."

* J. B. Wright, Esq. fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge.

great deeds of Ali Pasha. The chorus of one was—That his last action had surpassed all the preceding, for he had made the *Christians' Land* become a part of *Turkey*—alluding to that brilliant achievement the *cession of Parga.*"

Soon after the evacuation of this unfortunate city, it is said that Ali came to view his newly acquired territory, with the beauty, fertility, and happy situation of which he was so much struck as to confess he was not surprised at the determined resistance made by the inhabitants against his attacks. But it is not the occupation of Parga that will content his ambitious mind, although its possession makes him master of continental Greece from the Attic boundary of Parnes to the rugged mountains of Illyricum. As long as he lives he will exert all his energies to gain a footing in the Ionian islands, and upon his death-bed he will bequeath these sentiments to his successor. The late insurrections in Santa Maura, which have not been quelled without much bloodshed, may shew upon what a frail tenure this island is held in the vicinity of so powerful and ambitious a potentate whom England has taught to despise rather than to fear her.

We have thus brought the history of this extraordinary man to a close. In estimating his character we must not be dazzled by a name: the splendour of conquest is too apt to mislead the judgment and throw into shade those vices which darken and deform the portrait. The epithet "great" must not be indiscriminately applied to the hero who treads the strait path of glory in labouring for the advantage of his fellow-creatures, and to the daring adventurer, who, following the crooked ways of an interested policy, and unrestrained by any conscientious scruples, practises upon the simplicity and abuses the confidence of mankind, for the organization of individual despotism.

The great basis of Ali's character is extreme selfishness, and he possesses many qualities positive and negative, natural and acquired, which are well adapted to promote this ruling passion. He has few

feelings in common with the rest of men: he regards all human beings as objects calculated to advance his own views and interests, whilst his very successes have resulted as much from a deficiency in human sympathies and moral virtues, as from his talents and his courage. No pity, no remorse ever turned him aside from the object of his pursuit: with him faith and justice are but terms invented to dupe the ignorant or unsuspecting; and the most favourite art with which he is acquainted is that of deceiving all mankind.

Deprived of the advantages of early education, his study has been the human heart, and with the intricacies of that complicated labyrinth he is well acquainted: the native vigour of his genius readily supplies expedients for the suggestions of his ambition, and his moral courage always rises in proportion to the exigencies that require it. He has a quick perception of circumstances, and very rarely allows the opportunities of action to escape him: he possesses decision, and that decision is followed by the most indefatigable perseverance: he feels his ground before he commences operations, but never neglects to go where fortune seems to point: he is gifted with the talent of discovering amongst his followers the fittest instruments to be employed and the most faithful guardians to be intrusted; nor does he allow the etiquette of oriental dignity to prevent his communication with society and intercept the knowledge thence to be acquired. He has dexterity enough to dazzle the multitude, and strength of mind to discard many national prejudices which might oppose his advancement. He attaches his troops to his interest not more by a ready participation in their hardships, difficulties, and dangers, than by the easy familiarity with which he engages their confidence or flatters their vanity, and by the ability with which he associates their military enthusiasm with his success and identifies their glory with his own. He is a great master of political intrigue, and so versed in the arts of simulation and dissimulation, that he has not only deceived his own government, but every

other which has attempted to turn him to its advantage: each in turn has discovered its plans betrayed and itself deserted, as soon as a more powerful ally or a more beneficial cause attracted his regards. "Divide and conquer," is his favourite motto: he has no remorse in setting father against son and son against father, brother against brother, and friend against friend: in every town or district which attracts his cupidity, dissensions are studiously promoted, jealousy and distrust increased, and intestine wars excited to disunite the inhabitants and desolate the country: he then procures for himself an invitation as an ally or arbitrator, when he contrives to eject both the innocent and guilty, and remains master of the contested territory. His perfidy is more than Punic: he will make a treaty and violate it in the same hour: he will allure his adversaries into his power by the kindest words and fairest promises, and then destroy them without compunction. His desire of vengeance is deeply seated, knows no limits, and increases by delay; neither does he possess the least portion of that magnanimity of soul which can requite valour and generosity in a foe. In discourse he is equally skilful at discovering the sentiments of others, and veiling his own amidst impenetrable obscurity. As his actions seldom correspond with his promises, so his looks rarely indicate his thoughts: he can throw into his manners and his countenance the appearance of frank honesty and an affectation of gentleness, whilst rage and fury fester in his heart: he frequently seems most gay, when he is inwardly torn by chagrin, and most courteous when he meditates the darkest deeds. Yet Ali is not wantonly savage, nor does he require, like a Djezzar Pasha, to be lulled to rest with the cries of innocent and agonized victims; let his own safety or even his interest be endangered or threatened, and no principles of religion, no ties of friendship, no dues of gratitude, will restrain him in his sanguinary career.

As Ali gazes at power with an eagle's eye, so he clings to wealth with

the appetite of a vulture. His avarice is so excessive that one might almost think his desire of dominion proceeded from the wish of gratifying this insatiable cupidity. In procuring wealth he has recourse not only to a legal revenue, but to the meanest artifices and the most shameful extortion. He has not political knowledge enough to see that the encouragement of commerce and agriculture, with equitable laws and financial arrangements, would, by an increase of capital and extension of credit, augment his revenue and support his government; but he prefers to fill his treasury by forced avanias and grievous exactions, annihilating industry and stifling all the bounties of nature in their birth. A vast deposit is always kept unemployed and used as the exigency of the times may require; when this is satisfied, the expenditure is replaced by additional contributions. The great repository of this stationary wealth, to the amount, as I was informed, of more than two millions sterling, is a lofty tower in the garden of his seraglio at Tepeleni; but he possesses also jewels of immense value, with numerous stores of furniture and utensils of all kinds, which he has pillaged not only from individuals but from cities and towns taken by assault or received under his protection. On one occasion he distributed many thousand pounds weight of brass kettles, pots, and such implements, to the French engineers at Ioannina, for the purposes of a cannon foundery which they had established by his orders.

To no art does he owe more of his success than to that of bribery, and his gold has often penetrated into those places which were proof against his arms: neither does his inordinate avarice repress, but rather promotes this system, for he scarcely ever fails to recover the bribes sooner or later with interest, whilst the life or liberty of the traitor is sacrificed to his skilful hypocrisy: yet with the power of assuming the most winning manners and clothing his stern countenance in complacent smiles, he contrives to draw fresh victims into his fatal snares, directs their villany to his own advantage, and persuading each deluded votary that

his fortune will be more prosperous than that of others, overwhelms at last both adversaries and adherents in a common ruin. He once gave a man a bouyourdee to kill another who was obnoxious to him: the bloody deed was perpetrated, but the assassin found in the pocket of his victim a similar bouyourdee for his own destruction. He carried it to the vizir, and expressed some signs of astonishment; when Ali, laughing, replied, "Hey murrie, if I had not given him this, he would never have put himself in your way, and you would have had no chance of effecting your purpose." In fact, the tyrant wished to get rid of both or either of them.

Let us now contemplate the portrait in a light which will perhaps show some of its features in a more agreeable point of view. Though we cannot give our unqualified admiration to any man, however brilliant may have been his career, whose actions have been directed solely by self-interest and discoloured by the most glaring vices, and though it is easy for a despotic tyrant to benefit one part of the community by oppressing another, or excite the admiration of future generations, by adding to the miseries of the present race, still we ought to estimate the character of a person with a reference to the habits of his country, the system of his education, and the principles of his religion, keeping in view also the example which others, placed in similar situations, exhibit for his imitation.

Bearing in mind these considerations, I should pronounce the people of Albania comparatively happy, whether reference be made to their own state before the consolidation of Ali's power, or to that which still exists in other parts of the Turkish empire. In one case the contiguity of many small, fierce, independent tribes, engendered constant and implacable discord. If blood was shed even by accident, vengeance, uncontrouled by law and intrusted to individual discretion, swallowed up all other passions and rendered society a scene of terror and suspicion. So lawless were the natives of these

wild mountains that every defile and rock was rife with muskets aimed against the unwary traveller or the unprotected merchant; if he escaped with life, his property was plundered and his person sold into slavery: to such an extent did brigandage prevail that agriculture was neglected, commerce languished, the very arts of civilization began to disappear, and the whole land to present one unvaried scene of poverty and wretchedness. In the other case, I mean that which regards the general state of the Ottoman empire, it is sufficient to allude only to that horrible theocratic principle which makes power depend solely upon faith, and converts every Mahometan zealot into a remorseless tyrant. On the contrary, in Albania, though all are subject to one mighty despot, no petty tyrants are permitted to exist, and protection is given equally to the Turk, the Greek, and the Albanian, against the aggressions of each other. Religious toleration is freely granted, and the regularity of monarchical power has in some measure succeeded to the factions of aristocracies and republics. There exists at present a security in these dominions which we should seek in vain where the baneful influence of the Crescent elsewhere extends: a police is organized, robbers are extirpated, roads and canals are made or repaired, rivers are rendered navigable, so that the merchant can now traverse the Albanian districts with safety, and the traveller with convenience; agriculture in spite of all obstacles improves, commerce increases, and the whole nation advances perhaps unconsciously towards higher destinies and greater happiness.

With regard to the domestic habits of Ali Pasha, his attention to business, and the distribution of his time, are amongst the most extraordinary. So jealous is he of power, that he rarely calls upon the services of his ministers, but transacts all affairs of government himself. He rises very early in the morning, and takes a cup of coffee with his pipe: he then gives audience to his various officers, receives petitions and decides causes, pronounces judgment, settles the concerns of his army, navy, and revenue, till noon; he then dines upon

very frugal fare, a few plain dishes, and a moderate portion of wine. After dinner he sleeps for an hour or two, and then smokes his houka whilst he is occupied in similar occupations till six or seven o'clock at night, or even much later: he afterwards takes his supper and retires to his harem. In the expeditions which he frequently makes through various parts of his dominions, he will sometimes partake of the frugal fare of a cottager, and sleep beneath his humble roof. No one knows beforehand where he intends to transact the business of the day: sometimes he fixes upon the Serai of Litaritza, sometimes that of the Castron, and often he retires to the gardens of the Kiosk, or to some one of the numerous tenements which he possesses both within and without the city. Wherever he may be, a large quantity of Albanian troops are generally seen scattered about, in their white capotes, waiting for his exit. This extraordinary attention to business is productive of great inconvenience to his subjects, for in spite of all his quickness in decision, and the impossibility of appeal, a vast accumulation necessarily takes place, especially during his frequent absence from the capital.

He is not at all strict, and is thought by no means sincere, in the article of religion. He visits a mosque but once in the year, at the festival of the Ramazan, when he goes in grand procession. His mind, strong as are its natural faculties, being untutored in philosophy or science, and unaided by religious truths, clings to the marvellous and bends beneath the power of superstition: hence it is that he is greatly alarmed at thunder and earthquakes, at which times probably remorse finds an opportunity of applying her vindictive lash.

Hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent.

He believes in charms, and thinks that chemical combinations of matter might be discovered, which would cure all diseases, and prolong life to an indefinite extent; this makes him often the dupe of cunning and designing men.

Though strongly addicted to sensual lusts, and proud of the success which formerly attended his amours, he pretends to take great concern in the morals of his people, and perhaps no town exists where public prostitution is so severely punished as at Ioannina. In his exterior deportment he discovers little of that ostentation which often sits so awkwardly upon persons who have risen to very exalted stations. Ali on the contrary is affable and condescending as well to strangers as to his own subjects. His firmness of mind and command over himself is well illustrated in the following anecdote. In the year 1813, as he was inspecting some repairs in the great serai of the Castron, a large block of stone fell from a scaffold upon his shoulder, and laid him prostrate on the ground. Every one present thought he was killed, and a general alarm was spread: but Ali, though seriously hurt, ordered a horse to be equipped instantly, upon which he mounted and rode round the city, with a single Albanian attendant, without discovering the least mark of pain, though he had received a wound which confined him several weeks to his bed. After his recovery he told Mons. Pouqueville that he acted thus to assure his people of his safety, and to deprive his enemies of the pleasure of thinking he was likely to die. The consul replied, that every man had his enemies, but he could not think those of his highness went so far as to desire his death. "What?" said Ali, "there is not a minute of the day in which they do not offer up prayers to heaven for my destruction: how can it be otherwise? for forty years I have been doing every thing bad to every body: in this period I have caused 30,000 persons to be hung and put to death in various ways; and they know that if I live longer I shall do more: would you have them not hate me then? their hatred however will not affect my health,"—and upon this he burst into his usual Sardonic laugh*. In his dress Ali is generally plain and

* I had this anecdote, not from Mr. Pouqueville, but from another person who was present at the conference.

simple, although some particular parts of it display the magnificence of a sovereign. In person he is about the middle size, but his body being long in proportion to his legs, he appears to the greatest advantage on horseback, or when seated upon the sofa of his divan. He was extremely active in his youth, but had become unwieldy by reason of his corpulency several years before our arrival in Ioannina; and I understand, that since our departure, his increased bulk has tended so greatly to sour his temper, and urge him on to so many acts of wanton cruelty, that his character is likely to take a stain of much deeper dye than it had before acquired. One of my Albanian correspondents, in a letter which I have lately received, expresses a sentiment on this subject, very similar to that of the Persian grandee, who never left his monarch's apartment without being inclined to feel with his hand whether his head was upon his shoulders. The following instances have been related to me of his atrocious ferocity. In the year 1816 he laid waste, without any pretext, the whole canton of Kimarra, burning all the villages, and turning the poor inhabitants adrift upon the wide world, to subsist upon the charity of their neighbours. In the year following, one of those young Albanian pages whom I have before mentioned as belonging to the Seraglio, stole some article of trifling value. The chief eunuch reported it to the vizir, who ordered the poor youth to be cast into the leopard's den at the entrance of the Kiosk. This cruel command was immediately put into execution; but the animal, by constant association with the guards had become so tame, that he began to fawn upon his victim, and play with him, instead of tearing him in pieces. The circumstance was reported to Ali; and the tyrant, more ferocious than the beast of prey, ordered the wretched boy to be cut alive into small pieces, and then thrown back to be devoured.

As Ali is now more than seventy years of age, and has for many years past been the prey of a mortal disease, his dissolution cannot be far distant, when the reins of power must drop from that iron hand

which has long held them with so firm a grasp. On this event his three sons will probably be competitors for his throne. Mouchtar the eldest, having not one virtue to recommend him but his martial courage, has made no progress at all during his residence in Albania to secure the affections of any class among his father's subjects, except perhaps a portion of the Albanian soldiery. Brutal ferocity, degrading sensuality, and monstrous perfidy, are the leading features of his character: he is considered as forgetful of favours and a deserter of his friends, without any portion of that political talent which might enable him to retain dominion, if fortune gave it into his hands.

Vely Pasha, the vizir's second son, is in many points of character totally different both from his father and his elder brother. He is considered the most accomplished gentleman in the Turkish dominions, and though a strong bigot to the Mahometan faith, has a decided taste for the habits, arts, and luxuries of civilized Europe. Dissipated to excess, he is generous in his prodigality, though the indulgence of his inordinate passions often urges him on to acts of the most rapacious injustice. He has a fine person, aided by the most engaging manners, with much natural sagacity and good sense: nor is he devoid of courage, or uninfluenced by the love of military glory. In his political career he has devoted himself constantly to the interests of his lawful sovereign, and probably there does not exist a more attached and faithful subject of the Porte. When he held the government of the Morea, he received a proposal from the inhabitants of the flourishing isles of Hydra Spezie and Poros, to place themselves under his protection, and pay the tribute to him instead of the Capudan Pasha. His father Ali would have gladly accepted such an offer, and fought with the Capudan Pasha for his possession; but Vely, in a courteous and conciliatory manner declined it, and recommended the islanders to remain peaceable and submissive to lawful authority. Vely aspires to the highest posts in the empire, but the Porte hitherto has not thought proper to indulge him in his wishes; it prefers keeping him in the

vicinity of his father, since there is no doubt but that the Sultan would support him in his attempt to succeed Ali in his dominion, in order, by his means, to recover those provinces which are now in some measure disjointed from the Ottoman empire. In that event Vely would abandon all those foreign relations which are courted by his father, and would own implicit allegiance to the Sultan: on this account there is a large party of Osmanli Turks who favour his pretensions, and exult secretly in the hope of recovering that power which they used formerly to exercise over their Christian slaves.

Salee Bey, the vizir's youngest son, whom he himself evidently designs for his successor, is now about twenty-one years of age, the son of a Circassian slave. When we were introduced to him at his residence in the fortress of Argyro-Castro, he appeared to be a youth of good understanding and amiable disposition, but his character was not then developed: it is said that he possesses most of his father's good qualities and some of his vices. He has a fair complexion, with a pleasing countenance, very much resembling that of Ali in his youthful days. Those who are best acquainted with the vizir's character and sentiments are decided in their opinion that he intends Salee Bey for his successor, and that if he lives five years longer he will ensure the accomplishment of this design. It is supposed that the great fortress of Argyro-Castro was built on purpose to give him that strong hold as a residence amidst his father's faithful clan, and an opportunity of rendering himself his successor in their affections: the mode of his education, which, whilst it improved his mind, hardened his constitution, tended to qualify him for this undertaking. His food was plain, and his exercise regular; he was obliged even to carry bricks and stones, and submit to the same labour as the common workmen, in the construction of the fortifications, whilst his tutors and the governor were enjoined to exact the most implicit deference to their commands. For several years past all the landed property purchased by Ali has been registered in the name of Salee Bey, whilst his im-

mense stock of jewels and the contents of his treasuries are all intended to support this son's pretensions after his own decease. With this view also he has put to death so many pashas and beys, and endeavoured to exterminate all those independent Albanian chiefs whose struggles to regain their power might interfere with the interests of his heir. If he lives much longer, the whole race will be extinct. As they are nearly all Mahometans, the indignation of the Turks against Ali is far greater than that of any other class amongst his subjects, and they would gladly join any power that would give them assistance in throwing off his yoke.

The Ottoman Porte, which has been long convinced of his insidious designs and treacherous system, and has long lamented its own blindness, inactivity, and temporizing policy, would gladly hurl him from that pinnacle of power to which his vices and his valour have raised him: but this is now impossible; the old eagle is too strong upon his pinions for the Porte to curb his flight, and the mountain barriers of Epirus, defended by their Albanian palikars, are not to be scaled by a set of Turkish janissaries. No man knows better than Ali this decrepitude and imbecility of the Ottoman empire, the want of prompt decision in its councils and of communication with its provinces, the relaxation of that military system which once kept the world in awe, the rapacity of its officers, the dissatisfaction of its subjects, the diminution of its population, and every other sign of a state tottering upon the very brink of destruction: it is said that he entertains serious ideas of throwing off that nominal allegiance to the Porte which he has hitherto professed, and of assuming the title, as he has long assumed the authority, of an independent sovereign. In the mean time the following anecdote, which is extracted from a letter dated Constantinople, April, 1820, and inserted in the *Star*, will shew with what audacity he dares insult his sovereign, and beard the lion in his very den:

"An affair has just occurred here which has caused a great deal of noise. Two Albanians, on horseback, rode briskly up to the door

of the Grand Signor's chamberlain, Pashow Bey, and on the chamberlain's looking out at his window to know what they wanted, they both fired their pistols at him. The balls whizzed past the bey's head, fortunately without touching him. The assassins instantly scampered off at full gallop by the road to Adrianople. A well-mounted party was in a few minutes in pursuit of them, and at a village about sixty miles off they came up with one of the fugitives, whom they seized and brought back to Constantinople; the other effected his escape. The Albanian in custody refused at first to say a word in explanation of the extraordinary and daring adventure in which he had been engaged, but, on being put to the rack, he confessed, what was generally believed to be the case, that he and his companion had been hired by the famous Ali Pasha to murder Pashow Bey.

"The fact, I understand, is, that this is only one of many machinations on the part of Ali Pasha to take away the life of the chamberlain, against whom he appears to have conceived an unextinguishable hatred. The history of Pashow Bey, for years past, has been nothing but a narrative of hair-breadth escapes from the vengeance of his persecutor. At one time, by means of bribery and intrigue, Ali Pasha contrived to procure a sentence of death from the Porte against him, to escape which Pashow Bey fled into Egypt, from the viceroy of which he received protection.

"While residing at Alexandria, some Albanian mariners called on him, and solicited his advice, as a countryman, as to the disposal of some goods which they said they had just brought into the harbour, and which they wished him to go on board their small bark to inspect. Pashow had learnt by this time the danger of being too confiding; he sent a person to make a private survey of the Albanian vessel, who reported that, instead of being laden with goods, she was all in sailing trim, ready to start at a moment's notice. Pashow, of course, declined the friendly invitation of his countrymen, who, finding themselves

baulked in their too obvious design, left the port with all possible expedition. The circumstance coming to the ear of the viceroy so strengthened the interest which he had taken in Pashow Bey, that he applied in his behalf to the Grand Signor, from whom he obtained a revocation of the sentence of death, and permission to Pashow to return to Constantinople, where he has since resided.

"The Sultan, I am told, was so incensed at this last audacious attempt of Ali Pasha's that he had determined to visit him with his utmost displeasure; but he has since adopted a more cautious but perhaps as severe a policy. He has appointed new governors to a number of military posts, particularly of the principal passes into Albania, which have been hitherto allowed to be held by persons of Ali's appointment. This is supposed to be a great step towards the ultimate downfal of this formidable partisan. His agents have been also sent away from the capital, and all property of Ali's in their hands has been seized."

The Sultan has acted wisely in adopting the more cautious line of policy. It is perhaps practicable for him to dispossess Ali Pasha of those governments which he holds, by means of subordinate agents, on the eastern side of Pindus: but an attempt to eject him from Epirus, would probably have no other result than to show the real weakness of the Ottoman government and to hasten its downfal. Even the governors who shall be appointed to the Thessalian or Macedonian districts taken from Ali must hold them at his discretion, for no force which they, or even the Porte can establish, will prevent him from thundering down upon their plains from his mountain holds, wasting their territories, burning their cities, and carrying off their persons to imprisonment or death. The gradual and natural decay of Ali's powers seems to be the only remedy which the Porte can now contemplate for those evils to which its unguarded policy gave rise: this decay indeed has been for some time past perceptible, and though the faculties of his mind are still in full vigour, his corporeal strength is

daily yielding before the attacks of an incurable disease: so that before these memoirs meet the public eye, there is an equal chance, whether he be seated on a throne, or the tenant of a tomb.

Such is the present state of Ali Pasha, his sons, his subjects, and his government: probably by this time he finds, or if he lives much longer he will find, that the elevated station to which his talents aided by his crimes have raised him, is unable to secure for him so much happiness as falls to the lot of an humble and contented peasant upon his wild mountains; for if injustice is ever visited with punishment, or crimes made their own ministers of vengeance in this world, it is when the infirmities of age creep slowly on a tyrant, when activity and bustle are no longer suited to his strength, and his habitual restlessness cannot be appeased; when a sense of approaching death excites a certain indescribable fear of retribution, and conscience holds a mirror to his view wherein every action is reflected which was instigated by the selfish and malevolent passions.

Fortress of Ali Pasha at Argyro-Castro.

CHAPTER IX.

Visit to Mr. Pouqueville—His Opinion respecting Parga—Visit to Mouchtar Pasha—Adventure of a Robber—Accident at Signore Nicolo's House—Superstitions of Mustafà—Old Tatar sets out on his Pilgrimage to Mecca—Spring at Ioannina—Appearance of Hawks and Storks—Excursion to the North of Albania—Zitza—Fall of the Kalamas or Thyamis—Tzarovina—Vizir's Powder-Mills—Delvinaki—Misery of its Inhabitants—Inscription upon a Church—Violent Conduct of Mustafà—Valley of Deropuli—Reflections thereon—Palaia-Episcopi—Snuff Manufactory—Libockobo—Remains of Adrianopolis—Appearance of Argyro-Castro—Albanian Soldiers—Captain Gianko—Cries of Women for the Dead—Description of Argyro-Castro—Inspection of the Fortress—Visit to Salee Bey the Vizir's youngest Son—The unfortunate Demetrio Anastasi—Statistical Paper sent by the Bishop of Argyro-Castro—Mistake of the Author respecting the Bearer.

MARCH 5th.—This morning we received an invitation to dinner with Mons. Pouqueville, at which time we learned all the particulars

of Ali's attack and massacre at Ajà, as well as his defeat by the valiant and patriotic Parghiotes. Our conversation to-day turned chiefly upon this event, and the consequences that might be expected to ensue from it. It is not very consoling now to reflect upon the sentiments of the French consul upon this subject. He seemed fully aware that Parga would eventually change French for British protection, but he exulted in the prospect of its fate, and paid those compliments to our national faith which are particularly gratifying from the acknowledgment of a generous enemy. I recollect the almost enthusiastic fondness which he expressed for the character of the Parghiotes, with which his frequent residence amongst them had made him well acquainted; a character which we invariably found acknowledged by all who had similar opportunities of observing it, and which our own sojourn upon their rock tended strongly to confirm. And for *whom* did British authorities think proper to expatriate this interesting people, and to rivet the fetters of Greece!

Next day we called upon Mouchtar Pasha at his serai. He received us with civility, and confirmed the intelligence of the capture of Ajà, though he studiously concealed the defeat before Parga. The mention of these events turned the conversation to his own exploits at the attack of Prevesa, where he headed the charge of Albanian cavalry, and drove in the out-posts. Like the generality of these warriors he boasted much of his own valour, and expressed a contemptuous opinion of the French which they little deserved: had they possessed a single troop of cavalry, probably Mouchtar would not have lived to tell the tale; nor would Prevesa have fallen so easy a prey, had the French troops been properly supported. As we sat smoking our pipes in social converse, a secretary of the pasha's came to inform him that a desperate leader of banditti, who had long infested the forests of Acarnania, had voluntarily surrendered himself, and desired to make the adoration (προσκυνήσις) upon condition of receiving pardon and employment. In this ceremony the criminal prostrates himself before

the chief and kisses the hem of his garment, after which his life is safe whatever may have been the crimes he has committed. Mouchtar admitted the man to this expiatory rite, but in so doing he incurred the displeasure of his father, whose vengeance was implacable against this individual, who had committed the most atrocious excesses and long eluded all attempts to take him. To give up the pleasure of revenge is not compatible with Ali's nature; whilst, on the other hand, to violate the customs of his country and destroy all confidence between himself and his old companions the kleftes was thought adverse to good policy. In this dilemma therefore he released the man, and gave him safe conduct to the haunts of his associates, determining to wait patiently until chance or a diligent police should again bring the culprit into his grasp.

Having left Mouchtar we paid a visit to young Mahmet Pasha, with whose conversation, as at all other times, we were highly interested, and then returned home to be witnesses of a catastrophe which had nearly laid all Ioannina in ashes. On this day we had invited a party of natives to dinner, and Antonietti, that he might do honour to us and give satisfaction to our guests by his skill in cookery, had lighted a fire to which the vizir's kitchen itself could scarcely have afforded a parallel: but the houses in this country are not built to stand fire; indeed, so seldom is a Grecian hearth illuminated by any thing like a blaze, that the architect takes no precaution to secure the beam ends of the upper story which may jut into the chimney. Such was the case in the present instance; a large dry beam coming into contact with Antonietti's flame, took fire, and the smoke soon ascended through the roof: luckily this was formed of pantiles instead of thatch, or the next messenger dispatched to the vizir might have told him 'half his Troy was burnt:' for as more than one half the house, in all instances, is constructed of wood, whilst the modern invention of a water-engine has not yet found its way to Ioannina, and moreover, as a high wind finely calculated to spread a con-

flagration was then blowing, Antonietti very narrowly escaped gaining a niche in the Temple of Fame by the side of Erostratus. On our arrival we found every body and every thing in confusion; but Signore Nicolo alarmed not less for his head than for his house, mounted the roof with uncommon agility, and acted the part of fireman: tearing off some dozens of the tiles, and exposing the enemy to view, he cooled his courage by the application of successive buckets of water, which we handed up to him, and Ioannina was saved: but the dinner was spoiled; and our guests were taught to sympathise with the Horatian party in their misfortune at Beneventum.

Ubi sedulus hospes,
Pæne arsit macros dum turdos versat in igne.

This however was not the only misfortune we experienced: the French consul, having understood that we gave an entertainment, kindly sent some sausages to garnish a turkey: these having been saved from the wreck, were amongst the articles dressed for dinner, none of the party recollecting that pork was a principal ingredient in their composition: but Mustafà was too good a Mussulman to forget it, and no sooner did his olfactory nerves give him notice that this infernal viand was to compose a part of our feast, than he consigned us all over to perdition, and with every mark of horror and disgust pictured in his countenance, packed up his goods and retreated to his little den within the castron. At the expiration of two days, when he thought the house was tolerably purified, he re-appeared, but refused to break bread with us until Demetrio had washed every dish and platter in his presence, and we assured him that no more of this abomination should come under our roof. Mr. Parker indeed contrived to persuade him that he had not partaken of the sausages, and by that means gained a step over me in his affections which I was never able to recover: as for Antonietti, who cooked the trash, he looked upon him with infinitely greater abhorrence than if he had

roasted a Christian, nor could he ever after hear the name of M. Pouqueville mentioned with any degree of patience. This was not the only time when we were amused by the superstitious peculiarities of poor Mustafà. One day as he was putting in order a houka for Mr. Parker he happened to break the glass vase: for this he took not the least blame to himself, but ascribed all the fault to a Greek gentleman who had left the room ten minutes before, and whom he had observed to look at it with an *evil eye* (κακὸ ματι): he said he was well aware that some mischief would befal him, and was glad it was no worse; for in going to the bath the day preceding he had broken the ribbon which fastened his amulet round his neck, and was thus left defenceless against the glances of every wicked eye that might be cast upon him. The fear of this eye-battery is equally prevalent amongst the Greeks, many of whom are struck with horror if a stranger praises any article of their property, or one of their children, for its beauty; they generally observe the ancient method of averting this evil by spitting upon the admired object, or into their own bosom.

On the morning after this conflagration scene we were awoke early from sleep by a violent outcry in the street, which we found to proceed from a long procession that was convoying the vizir's favourite tatar, named Delhi Yachjà Agà, out of the precincts of the town on his road to Mecca, where he was going to be made a hadjee, or "holy man." He was accompanied on this occasion by all the different trades of the city with silken banners flying, and the college of dervishes carrying axes and halberts; these were preceded by a chorus of young men singing hymns in a fine sonorous strain, relieved at intervals by a band of music: his horse, magnificently caparisoned, was led by two tatars, his ataghan and pistols being tied to the saddle, whilst a large body of the tatarian fraternity in their picturesque attire closed up the rear. When he arrived at the outside of the town, near the plain of Bonila, he took an affectionate leave of his relations and friends, each of whom he kissed upon the cheek, then mounted his steed, and de-

parted on the road to Prevesa, where a ship was waiting in which he intended to embark for Alexandria. This man was very celebrated, and highly valued by his master for the astonishing journeys which he had performed in his service: he had the faculty of sleeping on horseback, which enabled him to make the greatest possible dispatch, since he never stopped longer than was necessary to take the refreshment of food. He was now sixty years old, and so anxious to make this grand composition for sin, and secure a safe entrance through the gate of Paradise, that no entreaties of friends, not even those of Ali himself, could divert him from his pilgrimage.

It was near the end of March before the germs of vegetation began to appear and serenity was restored to the atmosphere. The first harbingers of spring at Ioannina are innumerable flights of small hawks, extremely beautiful in appearance, of a lighter colour, but about equal in size to the common sparrow-hawk: they come in such numbers that they may be seen upon every tree and every house of the city: no doubt this bird is sent by Providence for some useful purpose like its immediate successor the stork, which is called by way of eminence, the bird of Mahomet, and held so sacred in many parts of Turkey, that he who kills one is subjected to the severest penalties: this is not indeed the case at Ioannina, though even here its murderer is looked upon with an evil eye. Nothing can add more to the picturesque appearance of Turkish cities than the frequent occurrence of this majestic bird either standing upon a mosque with all the solemnity of an imaun, or seated like a moralist amidst the ruins of antiquity. The veneration paid to the stork however proceeds not so much from its appearance as its utility; it is furnished by nature with that long formidable bill for the destruction of serpents and other reptiles with which the country abounds. I have seen many desperate struggles in the air between these implacable combatants.

The weather now appearing settled and the snow partially dissolved, we became anxious to seize the earliest opportunity of making an ex-

cursion into Albania for the purpose of viewing its noble scenery and becoming better acquainted with its singular inhabitants. Our first intention was to have visited the monasteries of Meteora on the eastern side of Pindus, from which we were diverted by the earnest representations of Mouchtar Pasha, who gave us a lamentable account of the ravages made in that district by the plague. But the North or Upper Albania lay open to our researches, and its banditti being dispersed from all the provinces subjected to the vizir's authority, every possible facility and accommodation was offered to the traveller.

On the 28th of March therefore at noon, one fortnight before the festival of Easter, we commenced our expedition, attended by Signore Nicolo, Antonietti, Demetrio, four suradgees, and Mustafà, armed with the plenipotential powers of his bouyourdee. In our first day's journey we advanced no further than to Zitza, which is four hours northwest of Ioannina, situated upon some turfy knolls so as to command a fine view of that mountainous region through which the Thyamis flows into the Thesprotian plains; those plains wherein it once imparted verdure and luxuriance to the groves of platani that sheltered the Amaltheum*. To their umbrageous shade the munificent Atticus retired a voluntary exile from the calamities of his country: there he endeavoured to forget his sorrows in the exercise of generous hospitality, in philosophical studies, and rural amusements, amidst scenery whose soft features were so congenial to the amenity of his own disposition. At the entrance of the village we passed a monastery on our left hand, situated in a tuft of fine trees upon a lovely eminence, and on the right a small serai belonging to the vizir, to which a granary is attached for containing the produce of his chiflick: throughout the whole of our route we constantly observed similar mementos of tyrannic power. Zitza contains about 150 houses, with four Greek churches: it is cele-

* Cave putes Attici nostri Amaltheo, platanisque illis quidquam esse præclarius.
Cic. Proem. lib. ii. de Leg.

brated for a very excellent and fragrant species of white wine, made from grapes which have been exposed for about three days to the sun, and which has a peculiar flavour from the absynthus employed in its preparation. We procured from the convent a copious supply of this nectar, in which Signore Nicolo indulged his genius so freely as to bring on certain symptoms of an incipient fever, which, in the course of a few days, prevented our having the benefit of his company during the rest of this excursion. Next morning we resumed our journey through an undulating tract of country covered with vineyards: at one hour's distance from Zitza we passed a beautiful cascade on the left hand, called the fall of Glizani, where the river Thyamis rolls over a rock about fifty feet in height and thirty in breadth, adorned on one side by a fine wooded knoll, and on the other by a picturesque water-mill: the sun was shining brilliantly and a fine iris playing over the spray. The scenery down the valley of the Thyamis would probably afford ample gratification to the lovers of the picturesque: our route lay upwards in a more northerly direction, which brought us in about four hours to the lake of Tzarovina, which is said to be unfathomable, and seems as if it filled up the vacuum of an exhausted crater; its great depth gives a deep azure to the transparent water, whose gloom is increased by some trees and shrubs which bathe their branches in its margin. Tzarovina is the place which Ali Pasha first occupied in his advances against Ioannina, and here he has built a small serai and fortress, which is mounted by a few cannon: below the lake, near the channel of the Thyamis, his largest powder-mills are situated; but the article is wretchedly manufactured. Advancing about one hour further we turned suddenly to the right, up a very precipitous and magnificent glen, down which a small river flows into the Kalamas; at this point of the road we met a company of Albanian soldiers escorting several French and Italian prisoners who had been taken in league with some brigands in Northern Albania. Antonietti entered into conversation with his countrymen, who did not much enjoy the prospect of an interview with

the dreaded chieftain: as we did not hear of any punishment being inflicted upon these rogues, it is very probable that he received them into his service. After proceeding about a quarter of a mile up the valley, we crossed it and ascended a steep hill towards the town of Delvinaki. Here we met a number of women returning from the toils of agriculture with hoes, spades, and other implements of husbandry in their hands: one poor creature had two infants tied in a kind of bag over her shoulders. Almost all the cultivation of the ground in this district is left to women, whilst the men are absent during greatest part of the year at Constantinople, Adrianople, Saloniki, and other large cities, where they carry on the trades of butchers and bakers. Many of these sun-burnt daughters of labour had very fine features, the place being noted for the beauty of its women: some of them accosted us with great frankness and were very inquisitive as to the objects of our journey, and the place from whence we came.

At the top of the hill we burst suddenly upon the town of Delvinaki, seated in a large circular coilon, around which nothing but bleak and barren rocks appear. It contains four churches and about 350 houses, built for the most part in a style of neatness and comfort: but at least a hundred were at this time uninhabited, owing to the cruel exactions of Ali Pasha. He has long been desirous of converting the place into one of his detestable chiflicks, but has been constantly opposed in his endeavours by the inhabitants, who are equally desirous of retaining their independence: to subdue this spirit he has had recourse to the most oppressive avanias, and the most odious impositions, quartering several thousands of his Albanian troops for six months together upon the unfortunate district, and removing them only to introduce a fresh set and subject the inhabitants to greater misery. No resolution can withstand a force like this; and probably long before this time the miserable Delvinaki has sunk into insignificance. Its site has been by some mistaken for Nicæum, and for Omphalium by others who have been misled by its umbilical appearance; but after a diligent

investigation we could not discover a single trace of antiquity upon the spot. The only inscription we observed was one in modern Greek, carved upon the entrance of a new church and signifying that this sacred edifice had been erected in the year 1812, at the expense of the primates, in the reign of the high and mighty Ali Pasha.

At Delvinaki two principal roads branch off, one towards Delvino and Butrinto, in the direction of Corfu; the other towards the great plain of Argyro-Castro and the north of Albania. We took this latter, and enjoyed a superb prospect when we arrived at the highest point above Delvinaki, where the eye is carried down the vast chasm that we had passed the day before, and from thence over the extensive mountain scenery of the Kalamas. After passing through a wild rugged country for one hour and a half north-west, we arrived at the han of Xerò-Valto, or the *dried marsh*, where the process of drainage has been carried on to a considerable extent, and a large quantity of very productive land brought into a state of cultivation. Near this place I had a serious altercation with our kaivasi Mustafà. He had just discovered that a Greek lad by whom he was attended on the journey, had lost a small parcel containing a shawl which had been committed to his custody. Irritated at this accident he drew his ataghan and beat the poor fellow most unmercifully about the head and shoulders with the back part of it: this passed over, but in a short time the Turk's rage suddenly broke out afresh like a smothered flame; he began to repeat the castigation with double fury upon the unfortunate offender, and would probably have soon proceeded to use the edge of his scymitar, had I not thought proper to interfere; but it was only by a threat of complaining to the vizir that he could be persuaded to remit his indignation.

Soon after this affair we entered into the magnificent and spacious valley of Deròpuli, on the western side of which stands the large city of Argyro-Castro. This plain, as enchanting as any which Arcadia itself can boast, is watered by the river Druno, commonly mistaken for the

Celydnus of antiquity: it extends in length more than thirty miles, and varies from four to six in breadth. it is inhabited by a population probably of 80,000 souls; near a hundred towns and villages may be enumerated, which are seen partly studding the sides of its huge mountain barriers that rise above them in Alpine grandeur, partly hid within their sinuous recesses, or embosomed in thick foliage: flocks of sheep and large Epirotic herds range through the green pastures, and numerous goats browse upon the lofty precipices. A degree of animation is thus communicated to the solemn and impressive features of nature that is perfectly delightful; nor can I recal to mind a view which unites so much of the pleasing with the grand. In contemplating this scene imagination could not help picturing to itself the still more brilliant colours it may assume when the golden wings of Liberty shall be spread over its soil, when wisdom and justice shall direct the energies, restrain the vices, and encourage the emulation of its inhabitants: when industry shall lead into this terrestrial paradise the sister arts, teaching the transparent stream to fertilize every corner which is now deserted, mingle the various hues of every opening flower, spread the umbrageous grove along the plain, and cover the huge sides of every hill with foliage: when architecture shall distribute all around its elegant appendages of decoration, in the splendid dome, the lofty tower, and the columnated portico, scenes adapted to philosophical meditation or scientific research; and above all, when true religion shall once more raise her awful head amidst these shades, diffusing moral happiness amongst the people, recalling them from their long slumber of ignorance and barbarism, and animating their hearts to adore the Author of all good!

No district in Albania is half so populous as this, though the miserable tenure of the land, which is chiefly that of the chiflick, tends greatly to diminish its inhabitants. The principal articles of produce are corn, rice, and tobacco, besides vast flocks of sheep and goats, which are seen scattered over the mountains. We re-

mained for about an hour at the beautiful village of Palaia-Episcopi, which is intersected by many transparent rills flowing from the upper parts of the mountain Mertzika, which turn the wheels of a number of water-mills, where the best snuff in all Albania is manufactured. A few miles beyond Episcopi we descended into the vale, and soon afterwards crossed the river nearly opposite the large scattered town of Libochobo, lying upon a steep acclivity of Mertzika, and near a vast chasm in that mountain chain, through which a torrent pours its tribute into the Druno. This town, with its territory, is a chiflick belonging to Shaïnitza, the sanguinary sister of the Albanian tyrant, and at this time she occupied a large seraglio which had been constructed for her by the vizir. On the western side of the valley, nearly opposite Libochobo, and at no great distance from the river, Signore Nicolo pointed out the ruins of a small Roman theatre with a few vestiges of other ancient foundations, upon a spot which he designated by the name of Drinopolis, an evident corruption of Hadrianopolis, which in very early ages was called Phanote, and in later times of the Eastern Empire Justinianopolis*. Argyro-Castro has succeeded to its consequence, though not to its site, upon which it is erroneously placed in the maps. In a little more than one hour we arrived under that city, whose unequal rocky acclivities, intersected by deep chasms and dividing it into several distinct partitions, give it a truly grand and imposing aspect. The houses, which are generally good, and belong chiefly to Turkish proprietors, are not contiguous, but stand in various positions, some on commanding eminences, others beneath projecting crags, many on the ridges of precipices, but the greatest part upon the flat surfaces of rock, between its deep ravines: the whole appearance is singularly striking, and its fine effect is augmented not only by the minarets of its mosques, but by the

* Οὐ δὴ καὶ πόλις αὐτῷ (sc. Justiniano) πεποίηται Ἰουστινιανόπολις, ἡ πρότερον Ἀδριανόπολις καλουμένη· Procop. de Ædif. l. iv. c. 1.

grand fortress of Ali Pasha, which was at this time nearly completed, upon a much larger scale than has ever been adopted in this country for works of a similar description. At about five o'clock in the afternoon we entered this city and obtained excellent lodgings in a house belonging to a friend of Signore Nicolo.

After dinner we took a walk into the city, accompanied by a fine youth, the son of our host; our appearance attracted great notice and curiosity from the inhabitants. Many Albanian guards came up and entered into familiar converse with us, but there was nothing uncivil or impertinent in their address, and they very freely communicated all they knew respecting the works going forward, the views of the vizir, his wars with the Argyro-Castrites, and their subsequent capitulation. Amongst these troops it was difficult to distinguish the officers from the privates, by dress, by style of conversation, or by any assumption of superiority. A captain of artillery, named Gianko, was extremely civil, and accompanied us during the whole of our walk. This man stood high in the confidence of Ali Pasha, and was present with him at the massacre of the Gardikiotes, where he led on the first body of troops to fire into the court of the Han. In the minute circumstantial account which he gave us of that horrid catastrophe, he said not more than eighty persons were selected by the vizir as objects of clemency, whom he spared. During our excursion we heard many doleful cries and loud lamentations, proceeding from several houses: we inquired the reason of this circumstance from our guides, who informed us that the women were still wailing for their husbands and sons who had fallen in battle against the vizir: now many of these had been thus occupied at least seven years previous to the time we heard them; yet no one appeared surprised at the folly of this observance. So powerful is the force of custom! I remember listening frequently at Ioannina to the cries of a matron who had lost her husband seventeen years before in a Russian campaign, but had never

omitted howling three times a day after she received the tidings of his death*.

——ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο.

The weather being extremely fine we never thought of abridging our excursion, by which means we considerably fatigued ourselves in making the circuit of this craggy city, standing, as it does, upon a steep acclivity and occupying a very extended space sufficiently large for double its population, which is not computed at more than about 15,000 souls. The bazar is spacious, and appeared very well supplied with articles of commerce. The inhabitants, before the vizir's conquest, were the greatest merchants in this part of Albania, and Argyro-Castro was a great depôt for internal trade. Ali contrived to seize the persons of many of these traffickers, who were scattered about the country, and by this means facilitated greatly the reduction of the place. The most picturesque parts of its site are the chasms which intersect it, whose sides are lined with habitations beautifully intermingled with trees, shrubs, and gardens: these situations however, are exposed to great dangers from the mountain torrents, which, after heavy rains, or the melting of snow, sometimes sweep down with such a swell and impetuosity as to carry every thing before them. About three years ago a terrible inundation of this kind swept away more than sixty houses, with their inhabitants, in the deep ravine which lies to the north of the castle, where the ruins still attest the extent of the calamity. On our return home we found that poor Nicolo, being unwell, had retired to bed. An officer also

* In a similar manner the wandering Ulysses seems to have been lamented by his faithful Penelope.

Ἐς δ' ὑπερῶ' ἀναβᾶσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξὶ,
Κλαῖεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Φίλον πόσιν, ὄφρα οἱ ὕπνον
Ἡδὺν ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.

Od. α. 362.

had arrived from young Salee Bey to inquire after our health, and offer his congratulations upon our arrival.

Next morning, after having sent a messenger to the young bey, to apprize him of our visit and deliver a letter from his brother Mouchtar Pasha, we set out to view the fortress. We were received at the great entrance by our friend Gianko, and conducted into the apartment of the governor Hassan Bey, an elderly man, who had accompanied the vizir in most of his early campaigns: no greater mark of confidence could have been placed in him by his sovereign than the command of this fortress and the care of his favourite son and successor. The person of this old chief was fine, though his apparel was coarse, and even dirty; he wore a little red skull-cap on his head, and a large coarse cloak of goat's hair thrown over his shoulders: he treated us with pipes and coffee, but spoke to us through the medium of an interpreter, as he was unacquainted with any other but the Albanian language. After remaining about half an hour in his little dirty apartment, which was totally devoid not only of grandeur but even of neatness and comfort, we departed, under escort of Gianko, to view the fortifications, deferring our visit to Salee Bey for the present, that we might not interrupt him in his studies. The area of this castle is extremely spacious, containing not only barracks for the accommodation of five thousand troops, but a very large seraglio and a mosque. The magazines are subterranean and well calculated to secure not only ammunition but provisions: the walls are of great thickness, though in some places they display too much haste in their construction: subterranean passages lead to all parts of the building, and water is brought by an aqueduct, from the hills that back it on the west, over a space of about six miles. In one apartment we were shewn a curious mill for grinding corn without either wind, water, steam or any other power but that of clock-work: it requires to be wound up only once in twenty-four hours, during which time the stone makes 42,000

turns and grinds 1400 ochas of flour: it is the invention of a poor Greek artificer, who had worked with some Frenchmen at Taigan in the Crimea. From the battlements of this castle we had a noble view of the grand plain of Deròpuli, presenting an appearance of fertility and animation that is wonderful in this country. Forty cannon only were as yet mounted, but forty-five more were expected: that end of the fortress which is turned towards the mountain was defended solely by one large traversing gun at the south-west bastion; amongst others we remarked several pieces of English and French ordnance, together with about a dozen brass field-pieces standing on their carriages upon a platform near the south-east corner. I observed to Captain Gianko that the whole castle was commanded by a position on the south-west, and he said it was in contemplation to secure that by the erection of a strong outwork. If artillery could be brought to play upon it from the heights above, on the western side, it could not sustain a siege of two hours: but whilst Turks only are the enemies to attack it, its deep ravines are a sufficient defence against this danger. About 1500 peasants were busily employed in various labours about this building, and by a shamefully oppressive avania were allowed only rations of coarse calamboci bread, by way of remuneration: and this for the forgery of their own fetters!

After having minutely inspected the works, we adjourned to a small house adjoining the serai, for the purpose of paying our respects to Salee Bey, whom we found seated on the divan in company with his tutor. He received the respectful obeisance of our attendants with a dignity that would have surprised us, if we had not known that lessons in etiquette are among the first in which youth of high rank in these countries are instructed: he appeared pleased to see us, and asked many questions respecting his father and brother; but we thought him deficient both in manner and acquirements when compared with his nephew little Mahmet Pasha, who is about his own age. Motioning

Nicolo to sit near him on the sofa, he questioned him, in a low tone of voice, respecting a difference which he observed in Mr. Parker's dress and my own, as why he wore a sabre and I did not, why his pantaloons were blue and mine white; but he desired his informant not to look at us, lest we might think he was discoursing about us, which, he added, would not be courteous towards strangers. The complexion of this youth was fair, his hair and eyes light, and his physiognomy bore a very strong resemblance to that of his father; he was considered docile, and rather of a mild disposition, although I understand he has since shewn some traits of that vindictive spirit which distinguishes the paternal character. No pains appeared to be spared in his education; he was not only instructed in the Turkish, Albanian and Romaic languages, but was daily trained in bodily exercises, whilst every opportunity was taken to ingratiate him with the Albanian tribes that were to be his future subjects. At our departure he promised to send us letters to various governors of cities that might lie in our route, as well as one to his mother, resident at Tepeleni, who, he added, would be proud to entertain Englishmen as her guests. We then took our leave, when the young bey arose and accompanied us to the door of his apartment, wishing us a pleasant journey and every kind of prosperity.

In the evening an Albanian colonel, accompanied by a dozen guards, brought the promised letters to our lodging: our friend Gianko also called, and two or three Greek gentlemen dropping in, we detained them all to pipes and coffee and discussed the valour and politics of Ali Pasha over a flowing bowl of punch made in Antonietti's best manner.

Next morning we intended to have resumed our journey, but Signore Nicolo complained so much of the state of his health, that we thought it right to remain another day in Argyro-Castro, to see what turn his complaint might take. Early in the morning, being accompanied by Demetrio, I ascended the mountainous steep behind the city with an intention of gaining the summit; but we found this quite impracticable, on account of so many deep chasms which presented themselves in our

path. We returned therefore, after having enjoyed a view of the plain which fully recompensed us for our trouble. About noon, Nicolo feeling better, I walked out with him, and we paid a visit to poor Demetrio Athanasi, whose fine house at Ioannina the reader may recollect was seized by Ali for the sake of his nephew the Pasha of Ochrida. A small miserable tenement was now the residence of this wretched family who had been long accustomed to all the comforts and the luxuries of life. Its master appeared gradually sinking under the attacks of a slow fever, nor did any consolation or any medicine afford him relief. The cause of this worthy man's exile and the confiscation of his property, when explained, is enough to make one shudder at the insufferable tyranny under which he was doomed to breathe: it was a refusal to let one of his beautiful children become a victim to the despot's lust within the walls of his accursed harem!

Soon after our return, a person was introduced who had brought, at my request, a paper from the Bishop of Argyro-Castro, containing the number of villages and inhabitants in the valley of the Druno. As I understood the bearer had taken the trouble to copy out this document for my use, I presented him with a small pecuniary remuneration; this he accepted with great good-nature, for I found afterwards, to my utter confusion, that I had been feeing one of the most dignified canons of the church. I had not made such a mistake since the time when I gave a pair of English razors to the old dragoman at Tripolitza, who prided himself upon the longest beard in the Morea, which steel had never touched since it first sprouted from his chin and which he nourished with more than parental attachment. Besides the statistical paper, my friend the canon gave me a curious history of the settlement of Argyro-Castro, or rather of Drinopolis, written in excellent Romaic, which refers its foundation to Theseus King of Athens, and contains numberless inconsistencies and absurdities.

Fountain of Viroua and Fort of Schindriada in the Valley of Argyro-Castro.

CHAPTER X.

Departure from Argyro-Castro—Fortress of Schindriada—Fountain of Viroua—Visit to the Ruins of Gardiki—Han of Valiaré—Road to Tepeleni—Arrival there and Reception at the Grand Serai—Hospitality of the Sultana—Ibrahim the Albanian Governor—Description of Tepeleni—Serai burnt down—Curious Anecdote of Ali Pasha connected therewith—Excursion to Jarresi—Gardens of the Serai—Departure from Tepeleni—Mad Dervish—Route to Berat—Magnificent Scenery, curious Dwelling-Houses and Manners of the People—Approach to Berat up the Valley of the Apsus—Lodging in the Suburb of Goritza—Curious Fashions of the Women—Visit to Hussein Bey—Old Usuff Araps—Turkish Chargers—Ascent up the Acropolis—Buffaloes—Ancient Isodomon in the Fortress—Historical Accounts—Great Plain—Ali's Character in Berat—Extract from Mr. Jones's MS. Journal relating to Apollonia, Delvino, Phœniké, &c.

APRIL 2d.—Signore Nicolo being still indisposed, it was settled that he should remain a few days at Argyro-Castro and then join us on our return at Konitza, where he had a sister married and settled. Accordly we set out this morning, without him, in a northerly direction along the western side of the valley. We left at some distance on our right the fortress of Schindriada crowning the summit of an eminence which rises abruptly out of the plain. This was built by the vizir about nine years before the surrender of Argyro-Castro, for the purpose not only of annoying his enemies but protecting that line of country through which he was obliged frequently to pass. In one hour and a half we came to a deep fountain, close to the road, called Viroua, where the water rises, as it were, out of a profound crater, curling at the surface in broad eddies: it then flows precipitously over a steep rock and forms at once a river: this I have endeavoured to represent in the vignette prefixed to this chapter. In about half an hour more we turned suddenly to the left, through an opening in the mountain barrier; the road was no more than a fiumara, over which at this time a torrent from the melted snow was flowing rapidly towards the plain, and made it sometimes very difficult for our horses to keep their legs. The ruins of many villages both on the right and left scathed by the destructive flames of war, testified the cruel mode of warfare practised by the Albanian soldiery. We toiled for more than an hour up this wild and rugged glen, when the mountains, suddenly taking on each side a bold sweep, formed a perfect amphitheatre and displayed to view the ruins of Gardiki spread over the sides and summit of a conical hill which rises in the very centre of its vast area: high above this fine circumference of hills appeared the huge summits of Acroceraunia whose wintry snows, now melting, allowed the spiry fir here and there to peep out from beneath its resplendent mantle: few cities could boast of so superb a situation. At a little distance from the foot of the hill we passed a large farm house which once served as an outpost to the garrison: the doors and walls, pierced with ten thousand bullets, testified the sharp conflicts it had lately sustained. In the

plain beyond we observed a small village peopled by Suliots, who have been congregated together in this spot by the pasha's orders; it is thought he meditates to take some signal vengeance upon these unfortunate victims when he has got as many as possible within his grasp.

Having crossed a deep ravine, which defended the city of Gardiki towards the south and east, we ascended up its steep hill by the winding narrow path which but a short time before led Ali's troops to victory. Upon a detached eminence on the right hand stood a small citadel, whose ruined walls present nothing worthy of notice: after inspecting them we entered at once into the mournful skeleton of Gardiki, " a peopled city made a desert place," where no living beings disturb the solitude, except serpents, owls, and bats. A chilling kind of sensation, like the fascination of some deadly spell, benumbs the senses, and almost stops the respiration of the traveller, who treads as it were, upon the prostrate corpse of a great city, just abandoned by the animating spirit. The feeling is far different from that which he experiences amidst the fine ruins of antiquity, whose aspect, mellowed down by time and unconnected with any terrible convulsion, inspires only pleasing melancholy, or animating reflections: but here the frightful contrast of a recent and terrible overflow appals him; his heart sickens at the sight; and whilst the deep silence is broken only by the breeze which sighs around the ruins or amidst the funereal cypresses which here and there wave over them, he almost expects to meet a spectre at every step he takes.

Amidst these monuments of destruction we found our progress often barred by vast heaps of ruins; nor after an hour's ramble did we discover one habitation which had not suffered in the work of demolition; even the tombs were razed to their foundations, and the very mosques themselves had not escaped profanation; so duly had the vengeance of an implacable enemy been executed: one minaret alone peered out amidst surrounding masses, to the top of which we ascended, that we might contemplate the whole extent of this melancholy scene. From

hence we observed a solitary dervish stealing gently from the covert of some ruins at a distance. Probably the poor man had come, in spite of Ali's dire anathema, to live and die amidst the relics of this once populous city, to weep over the memory of former days, of friends departed, and connexions broken. Yet the heart of him who has thus rudely torn asunder all the bands of social life, glories in the dreadful deed of vengeance, the memory of which, instead of festering like a canker in his bosom, seems rather a source of joy and exultation.

In our return down the fiumara we marked with surprise the immense quantity of sand and pebbles which a wintry torrent in these mountainous countries will carry down into the plain, overwhelming many acres of fine land at its mouth with the most unfruitful materials.

——— d' infeconda arena
Semina i prati e le campagne amene.

Opposite, in the plain, we observed the deserted han of Valiarè, whose walls enclose the mouldering bones of the murdered Gardikiotes. The door is nailed up, over which an inscription openly testifies the bloody deed, and gives warning that a similar punishment awaits the wretch who shall dare to offer any dishonour to the family of Ali.

At about eleven miles from Argyro-Castro, and nine from Tepeleni, the great plain contracts itself into a narrow valley, where a good han appears, near a lofty bridge of a single arch, thrown across the Druno. Soon afterwards this valley becomes a narrow defile, compressing the bed of the river into a very narrow compass between its parallel ridges of mountains. At the distance of a mile from Tepeleni we passed that magnificent defile called anciently the Fauces Antigoneæ, where Philip was attacked by the Consul Flaminius, and where the rapid Vöiussa, the Æas or Aöus of antiquity*, receives the

* Flumen Aous a quibusdam Æas appellatum.
Plin. N. H. lib. iii. c. 23.

tributary stream of the Druno between the opposite heights of Asnaus and Æropus: it flows from seven fountains on Mount Pindus, beneath the town of Mezzovo, and passing near the cities of Konitza, Ostanizza, Premeti, Klissura, and Tepeleni, falls into the Adriatic below the ruins of Apollonia.

The shades of evening almost hid Tepeleni from the view as we entered the town, where we were received into the grand seraglio, and accommodated with the best apartments: as soon as we were settled, the Albanian governor entered to offer his congratulations upon our arrival, bringing also those of the Sultana, with an intimation that her ladies were preparing to send us a dinner from the harem. We returned a proper acknowledgment of this unexpected favour, together with a letter which we had brought from Salee Bey to his mother: and to say the truth, nothing could exceed the civilities paid us during our stay by this unseen benefactress: we learned however that female curiosity prompted her to take a transient view of her guests, through a latticed window, as they passed into the great court of the seraglio. Our unexpected arrival obliged us to wait a considerable time for dinner, which was announced by musical instruments and brought in by a crowd of slaves and Albanian guards, who nearly filled the room, and stood around the table during the time of our repast: Ibrahim, the Albanian governor of the serai and town, dined with us, and paid due respect to the dainties of the harem: he was an intelligent man, full of conversation, and well acquainted with the early life of Ali, concerning whom he amused us with many interesting anecdotes; for he remembered the vizir when he had not where to lay his head. He spoke to us also of his mother, whom he described as possessing all the martial qualities of an Amazon, with the spirit of a Laconian matron: he extolled the good qualities of Salee Bey, and appeared as if he entered into his master's projects respecting the future destiny of that youth. Thus the evening passed very agreeably till bed-time, when a party of slaves came into the room, bearing in their hands, and on their heads,

silken mattresses, rich coverlets of embroidered velvet, pillows of the same material, with a species of fine Constantinople gauze for sheets, and all the apparatus of bed-furniture, fit for princes in magnificence: δάπιδας καὶ ποικίλα προσκεφάλαια. These articles were spread out upon the sofas of the divan*, and we retired to the comfort of sleep, which requires not much wooing from those who have undergone the fatigues of travelling in this country: not even the novelty of the scene or the roughness of the sheets could long keep us awake. As soon however as we were laid out in state, the governor, with several other officers of the palace, came into the room under pretence of wishing us good night; but in reality to satisfy their curiosity regarding the mode in which Englishmen lie in bed. I observed them sneering a little at our effeminacy; their own custom being to throw off merely the upper garment and recline upon the cushions of the divan, with no covering but a thick paploma, and that only during the cold season. From this cause, and their great aversion to a change of linen, the hircinus odor attaches itself very strongly to Albanian society.

Next morning we took a view of the town, which is only interesting as the birth-place of the present ruler of Epirus. It stands upon the high bank of the Voïussa, which is here about as broad as the Thames at Kew, and like the Araxes indignant at a bridge: a very fine structure of this kind, which was thrown across it during the times of the Lower Empire, had been left in a ruinous state by the violence of the stream, and though the vizir expended 1500 purses in repairs, all his efforts were in vain; not quite two years before our visit, a dreadful inundation swept away the new works and left the old broken arches

* Had the season been more advanced, and the weather sultry, we should have requested to sleep in the portico, like the Ithacensian prince in the palace of Alcinous.

Κὲκλετο δ' Ἀρήτη λευκώλενος ἀμφιπόλοισι
Δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι, καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
Πορφύρε' ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
Χλάινας τ' ἐνθέμεναι ὅλας, καθύπερθεν ἕσασθαι.
Od. η. 355.

in their former state of a picturesque ruin. A very handsome reward is still proposed by Ali to any engineer who shall enable him to defy the current. Tepeleni contains about 200 houses, with a population exclusively Albanian: it possesses no architectural beauties, if we except the grand seraglio which Ali has built upon the site of his paternal mansion. This is a very spacious edifice standing upon a fine rock at the edge of the cliff: I speak indeed of the seraglio which then was, for a new edifice has lately been erected upon the ruins of the former, which was accidentally burnt by fire in 1818. The account of this conflagration, which I received from an Albanian correspondent, is worthy of detail, since it tends strongly to illustrate the character of Ali, which these pages are intended principally to portray.

The mischief was occasioned either by the negligence of some attendants in the train of Salee Bey, who was at Tepeleni on a visit to his mother, or by a storm of thunder and lightning which occurred at the time. However this may be, about the middle of the night the whole palace was in flames. In the horror of the scene the Sultana, with all the other ladies of the harem, endeavoured to make their escape through the doors of the apartments, but were actually met and driven back again by the ataghans of the eunuchs appointed as their guards: these wretches would rather have seen them all fall a prey to the devouring element, than exposed to the lawless gaze of public curiosity: such is the force of Mahometan prejudice! in this extremity they let themselves down through the casements of the windows which they broke and tore away for that purpose. Before morning scarce a vestige was left of that superb edifice which Ali had raised upon the residence of his forefathers. His rage and fury were so dreaded, that it was thought proper at once to ascribe the cause of this misfortune to the effect of lightning, without hinting at the possibility of any other. As soon as he received intelligence of the misfortune he set off instantly, and scarcely rested day or night till he arrived at Tepeleni: there he felt some consolation when he found that the subterranean cham-

bers in which he kept his plate and other valuables were uninjured, as well as the great tower in the garden which is the depository of his treasures. He now set his head at work to contrive some plan for restoring the edifice without incurring any expense. His first care was to issue proclamations throughout his dominions stating that the vengeance of heaven had fallen upon him, and that Ali had no longer a home in the place of his ancestors. He called therefore upon his loving subjects to assist him in his distress, and fixed a day on which he expected their attendance. On the day appointed Tepeleni was crowded with deputies from the various districts of Albania, with his old associates and intimate friends, his children, and relations of every degree. At the outer gate of the seraglio Ali was seen seated upon a dirty mat, cross-legged and bare-headed, with a red Albanian cap in his hands to receive contributions. He had been cunning enough to send large sums of money beforehand to several of his retainers, from whose poverty little could be expected; and these they now brought and restored to him as if they had been voluntary presents from their own stores. When therefore any bey or primate offered a sum inferior to his expectations, he compared his niggard avarice with the liberality of others, who he felt certain had deprived themselves even of the necessaries of life for his sake, refusing the present in the following terms: "What good will this offering do for Ali, a man afflicted by the Divine vengeance? Take it back murrie, take it back, and keep it for your own necessities." This hint was quite sufficient to double or even treble the contribution, and by such means he collected a sum of money which enabled him not only to rebuild his seraglio, but to add very considerably to the treasures in his garden.

After breakfast this morning we set out to investigate the ruins of a palaio-castro, which, as we heard, lay at about one hour's distance from Tepeleni. The road led us for about a mile up the stream of the Bentza, a small river which flows into the Voïussa below the town. At a village of the same name, its bed is contracted by two con-

verging ridges of Mount Argenick, a branch of the great Acroceraunian mountains. Here the vizir has established extensive powder-mills, and the scenery is very romantic. We crossed the river by a handsome bridge of a single arch, and proceeded in an easterly direction to the object of our excursion. This we soon discovered upon a moderate eminence, in a small district called Jarresi, but we were disappointed in our expectation of finding either a Greek or Roman fortress: it appeared from its mode of construction scarcely so ancient as the time of Justinian, and may possibly have been erected by the Norman invaders of this country in the reign of Alexius Comnenus.

On our return to Tepeleni we took a walk in the gardens of the seraglio, which are extensive, and laid out by two Italian gardeners, somewhat in the style of their own country. These men were deserters from the French army at Corfu, whom Ali received gladly into his service, giving them houses, with a good salary, and wives from his own harem of Tepeleni.

[7]Οικόν τε κληρόν τε πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα.

We caught a view of these liberated captives during our walk, but they seemed to possess neither beauty nor elegance. The great tower, or treasury, in which more than two millions of money are withdrawn from circulation, is a vast oblong building three stories in height, and secured by ponderous doors, of which Ali alone keeps the key. Such are the resources of ambitious tyrants who are unable to establish or sustain public credit by any constitutional guarantees, and are dependent upon their people's fears rather than their love for support.

This day the sultana sent us a very excellent dinner from the harem, consisting of soup, ragouts, pilau, and various kinds of pastry, at which we were again gratified by the company of the governor. When the wine, of which he partook freely, had opened the heart of this worthy

old Mussulman, his tongue became very fluent, and he entertained us with many curious and highly interesting anecdotes. This night we slept in splendid misery, and if I had not feared it might have been taken for incivility, I should have made a retreat into my snug little trunk-bed.

Early in the morning, after sending our best acknowledgments to our kind hostess for the hospitality we had experienced, we departed for Berat, taking Demetrio alone to attend us, and sending Antonietti with greatest part of the luggage through the defile of Antigonea to wait our arrival at Premeti. Upon mature consideration we preferred this tour to one which we at first contemplated along the coast of the Adriatic through Avlona and Delvino. That part of Epirus however has been subsequently visited by my friend the Rev. William Jones, who has kindly permitted me to make an extract from his manuscript journal, which will be found at the end of this chapter. As we descended towards the river, a mad dervish came jumping out of the portico of a new mosque near the serai, vociferating the most horrid imprecations against our Christian heads: the application of some paras quickly changed his tone, and the poor wretch remained dancing in the wild manner of his fraternity upon the bank, and eulogizing us in a most Stentorian voice till we were out of sight.

We crossed the Voïussa in a curious kind of trough, scarcely oblong in shape, but broader at one end than the other: the horses were driven with great shouts and cracking of whips into the river, and made to gain the opposite bank by swimming: much confusion ensued, as some of the animals swam to a considerable distance down the stream, and others turned back when half way over: at length all arrived safe at the other side, when, the saddles and luggage being replaced, we proceeded on our journey, and followed the course of the Voïussa north, to the distance of six miles, where it takes a sweeping turn westward, in the direction of Apollonia. The country now began to lie in a regular ascent, the road winding along the side of continued chains of

low hills, rising one above the other. Nearly half way between Tepeleni and Berat we gained the highest point, when the views both before and behind us were extremely grand. In front we looked over a mountainous country, which can be compared to nothing so well as to the Atlantic in a storm: the extreme horizon verging to the left was bounded by the hills around Durazzo, that on the right by the mighty Tomour, which in bulk and general outline bears a greater resemblance to Ætna than any mountain I have seen. His huge head, clothed in a bright snowy mantle, rose splendidly sublime, like a citadel which the mountain Genius of this wild territory might fix upon for his dwelling. Behind us was a spectacle still more superb: the Voïussa pouring down its foaming torrent between its Alpine boundaries; the distant summits of Pindus; the noble scenery of Derópuli; and the vast mountains of Kimarra, those dreaded heights of Acroceraunia, little inferior to the huge Tomour itself, which reflected in their snow-capt peaks the brilliant tints of the rising sun. After having feasted our eyes some time with these enchanting prospects, we descended into a deep fiumara, through which the road continues for about two hours: from this point all the rivers take a different direction, and instead of flowing towards the bed of the Voïussa, seek to pour their tribute into the river of Berat, the ancient Apsus*. The manners of the people in these northern regions seemed much more wild and barbarous than those to which we had hitherto been accustomed. The peasants stared at us with a curiosity bordering upon insolence, whilst the women and children ran away, or if we came upon them unawares, turned their faces from us till we had passed.

* There can be little doubt respecting this identity. The river of Berat is the only one of any consequence between Durazzo and Apollonia, through the intermediate territory of which places it flows into the Adriatic sea. That this was the direction of the Apsus, vid. Liv. lib. xxxi. c. 27. "Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat campum." See also Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. c. 13. It was on the banks of this river that the first actions took place between Cæsar and Pompey. "Inter bina castra Pompeii atque Cæsaris unum flumen tantùm intererat Apsus," &c. De Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. 19, &c.

The villages, some on the declivities of the mountains, and others in the valleys, had a very dull and gloomy appearance, the houses being built of a dark red stone, all widely distant from each other: their construction served to give us a proper notion of that dreadful insecurity which must have rendered society a perfect state of misery before the conquests of Ali Pasha: each mansion was formed like a tower, the entrance to which was in the second story, at least three yards from the foundation, and whenever any member of the family wanted ingress or egress, a rope ladder was lowered and drawn up again by the rest: no apertures admitted the free light of heaven to these keeps, or dungeons, except a few loop-holes pierced in the wall, from whence the family muskets might be pointed against an advancing foe. Almost all the inhabitants of these regions profess the Mahometan faith, though they know as much about Mahomet as the Grand Lama: they abjured Christianity to save their possessions, and are despised equally by the Osmanlis and Greeks. A few years ago this country was quite impassable to a foreigner; every house which he had ventured to approach would have teemed with muskets aimed against his life. Surely even the tyranny of Ali Pasha is happiness compared with such a state as this!

When we arrived within a few miles of Berat, which is distant twelve hours from Tepeleni, the aspect of the country appeared more pleasing and cultivated, and the manners of the people more civilized. Just about sun-set we entered a charming valley extending towards the north, through which a gentle stream flows into the Apsus and distributes verdure and fertility in its course. Here we observed, in several instances, a nearer approach to the country villa than we had before seen in Turkey: some houses on the banks of the river were surrounded by a lawn, plantations, and fences, which, with a little more taste, might have been rendered most agreeable retreats. The rich mellow tints of the sky shed an additional lustre upon the landscape, as we turned to the right up the magnificent valley of the Apsus, where

the towers and minarets of Berat burst full upon the view, with huge Tomour rearing his gigantic head into mid-air: the grandeur of the view was so striking, that we should have thought this alone a sufficient recompence for every fatigue in our journey from Ioannina.

Such scenes as these will justify the bard, who thus describes them after his inspection of the most classic regions that have been celebrated in the songs of poets.

> From the dark barriers of that rugged clime,
> Ev'n to the centre of Illyria's vales,
> Childe Harold pass'd o'er many a mount sublime,
> Through lands scarce notic'd in historic tales;
> Yet in fam'd Attica such lovely dales
> Are rarely seen; nor can fair Tempe boast
> A charm they know not; lov'd Parnassus fails
> Though classic ground and consecrated most
> To match some spots that lurk within this lowering coast.

At the distance of about half a mile up the valley a fine bridge of eight arches thrown across the Apsus, leads into a picturesque burial-ground and suburb of Berat, to the east of which rises a noble hill crowned by the fortifications of the citadel and serai of the pasha*; both of these have been lately much enlarged by their conqueror. From the bridge a road runs along the right bank of the river to the city, which is higher up the valley, and lies chiefly around the south-east side of its acropolis. The inhabitants of Berat being almost entirely Mahometan, we were lodged with a Greek merchant named Nicolachi, in the large suburb of Goritza, on the left bank of the Apsus, where the Christian part of the population have their dwellings. Though this house was one of the

* The annexed plate was slightly sketched by the author from the window of his lodging in the suburb: it received the high and beautiful finish which it now possesses from the pencil of the same gentleman to whom these volumes are so much indebted.

best in the place, and the family turned out of the best room in it for our accommodation, its filth and suffocating smell was quite appalling! We found the master seated round the fire with half a dozen loungers who were nearly hid from our view by a dense smoke which issued into the room instead of passing through the chimney. How insignificant such trifles appear to those who are accustomed to them, may be inferred from the following short dialogue which took place between Mr. Parker and our host:—" C' è fumo quì, Signore."—" Sì, Signore, dal fuoco." The night did not pass without our apprehensions being fulfilled regarding the nocturnal enemies which assailed our quarters, and next morning the Augean stable was cleansed by our attendants, to the perfect astonishment of the host, who appeared to glory in the antiquity of his dirt.

Unable to sleep I arose with the sun and accompanied Mustafà to the city. In passing over the bridge, as well as in the suburbs, we met several parties of Turkish ladies riding out on horseback to take the morning air: they sat astride upon the saddle with their feet in stirrups, whilst a male attendant generally walked before each horse and carried a short stick in his hand. Some of them were unveiled, not expecting, I suppose, to meet the polluting eyes of a Christian at this time in the day. Throughout Upper Albania it seemed as if a certain colour predominated in female apparel as connected with particular districts. In Argyro-Castro this was a light straw colour: here at Berat it was blue; in which latter city a fashion also prevailed in the head-dress of the women which was very singular and striking: this consisted of a cap or bonnet, nearly two feet in height, in the shape of a bishop's mitre: it was made generally of blue cloth, well stuffed, and fastened under the chin by ribbons.

The bazar, which is an extremely handsome and spacious quarter of Berat, lies close to the river and abounds in all sorts of articles brought from Constantinople and the large towns of Macedonia, as well as in foreign goods which are imported through the sea-port of

Avlona. It was now full market, and the appearance of a foreigner excited no small degree of curiosity. Mustafà however, who is of Macedonian origin, was soon recognised, and kissed upon the cheek according to custom by many old acquaintances, and before we thought of returning to our lodging, his brother, who had heard of his approach, and made a journey from the city of Monastir to meet him, alighted from his horse at the door of a han. The affectionate embraces and tears of joy shed by these two semi-barbarians at this rencontre were so affecting, that I felt loth to separate them and returned home alone.

Soon after breakfast our kaivasi rejoined us, and we proceeded to pay a visit to Hussein Bey, eldest son of Mouchtar Pasha, who resided here in quality of his father's caimacam, under the guidance of old Usuff-Araps, in whose fidelity the most unlimited confidence could be placed. The young bey was lodged in the old seraglio at the foot of the acropolis. He received us very civilly, and expressed a wish of rendering us all the services in his power: there was nothing remarkable either in his person or his manners, but his disposition seemed more amiable and his mind more cultivated than that of his father. Though not nineteen years old he had been married two years, but as yet remained without any progeny. Before our departure he intimated that some ancient remains might be seen within the fortifications of the acropolis, and made an offer of sending us upon his own horses up the heights. This we accepted and orders were given for the steeds to be brought immediately out of the stables where they generally stand ready caparisoned. Before we mounted we adjourned to the apartments of Usuff-Araps, but were unable to see him, as the old gentleman was indisposed*. He was flattered however by our intention, for he sent us a magnificent turkey for dinner. In descending down the staircase we heard the prancing and neighing of the horses in the court, and observed two cream-coloured chargers, destined for Mr.

* This sanguinary character and faithful adherent to the vizir is since dead.

Parker and myself, plunging about with an appearance of ungovernable fury: they were the most picturesque animals I ever beheld, and in their broad haunches and chests, thick curved necks and waving manes, small heads and eyes of fire, finely illustrated that splendid oriental description of the war-horse in the book of Job. Our ride was not the most agreeable one that we had experienced; nor was it very easy to sit these spirited animals upon a Turkish saddle, that precludes all pressure of the knee, which in our own style of riding contributes chiefly to a good seat. My steed became so ungovernable in ascending the acropolis, that if his groom had not ran and seized the bridle, I believe we should have both made a precipitate descent down a chasm many hundred feet in depth: when I dismounted, this vicious beast threw out his heels and then ran at me open-mouthed, when I only escaped by running up the staircase of the serai. Another source of alarm also occurred at this time: great repairs and augmentations being carried on in the fortress, the court was nearly filled with carts and sledges drawn by buffaloes: these animals have a decided antipathy to the colour of scarlet, in which Mr. Parker and myself, having just paid a visit of ceremony to the bey, were dressed. Pidcock's menagerie broke loose would give but a faint idea of the noise and tumult which ensued. Some of the beasts even upset their carriages and broke their yokes in the exertions which they used to get free. To quiet this affray we made a speedy retreat into the interior of the serai, where we were courteously received by Ismail Bey, a rich Turk of Ioannina, the father-in-law of Hussein Bey, who was now upon a visit to his daughter. After the usual refreshment of pipes and coffee, and a very interesting conversation with this polite and high bred Osmanli, he accompanied us through the seraglio and fortifications, pointing out a hill, about 500 yards distant, from whence Ali battered these works in the time of Ibrahim Pasha with four pieces of ordnance, and forced him to a capitulation. Ibrahim had not recourse to this measure before the balls began to penetrate into his own apartment, where we still saw the

vestiges, which are designedly preserved. In our egress from the grand entrance of the citadel, we observed some massive building of the ancient Greeks, which formed the lower part of its construction, and extended to some distance in the adjoining walls. It is a rough species of Isodomon, and the blocks employed are of immense size. From hence we made a circuit of the hill, to which the title of acropolis well applies, since a small town is contained between its lines of circumvallation, wherein are many Greek churches of the Lower Empire: indeed I entertain very little doubt but that anciently the whole city occupied this site, and that the lower town is an addition since the Turkish conquest*. What the ancient city was called, I confess myself unable to decide†; nor is it at all certain at what time it received its present appellation. It is mentioned by many of the Byzantine historians under the title of Balagrada and Balagrita, and is now called Arnaout Belgrade‡ to distinguish it from the celebrated city of this name upon the banks of the Danube. The Greek emperors sometimes made this their

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* Indeed I find it asserted in the Life of Scanderbeg that the city was situated upon the top of the mountain. By Meletius it is called, πόλις τετειχισμένη ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τινὸς βουνοῦ, με Θρόνον Ἐπισκόπου.

† Some have ascribed it to Eordea, erroneously, as I think, because Pliny places the Eordenses among the tribes of Pæonia (lib. iv. c. 10.), in which he is confirmed by Strabo, who, in describing the great Ignatian road, says it ran from Apollonia through the Candavian mountains of Illyricum to Lychnidus and Pylon, at which latter place were the conterminous borders of Illyricum and Macedonia: from thence it led through Heraclea to the country of the Lyncestæ, next that of the Eordi, and then Edessa and Pella, till it ended at Thessalonica. Polybius also places Eordea in Macedonia (lib. xxii.), and so does Thucydides (lib. ii. p. 164, ed. Duk.) Moreover I do not find any mention in ancient authors of a city called Eordea, but only a country (vid. Steph. Byz. in Voce.) Amongst the many uncertain names of the cities of this region, I should be inclined to fix upon Antipatria for the site of Berat, a city which was taken by Apustius, a lieutenant of Sulpicius, in the war between the Roman republic and Philip King of Macedonia; for Livy speaks of this place as being on the borders of Macedonia, as situated in faucibus angustis, and as inspiring confidence into its inhabitants by the strength of its walls and site, (magnitudine ac mœnibus situque urbis,) lib. xxxi. c. 27: but all the topography of this country is extremely obscure, and it is much easier to find fault with the conjectures of other people than to form a good one.

‡ Nomen habet hoc Albaniæ vel Arbaniæ (sicut vulgus Græcorum vocat) Beligradum, hoc est, arx Alba. Quippe conjuncta cum oppido arx est, quæ a Valona, celeberrima nunc etiam Epiri civitate (Leo Imperator Auloniam, veteres Aulonem dixerunt) unius itinere diei distat. Leunclavii, Pand. Hist. Turc. p. 444.

head-quarters when they came to chastise the revolted Albanians or other lawless tribes among these districts. It is a most important post, the key of all this part of the country. The great Scanderbeg himself failed in his attempts to recover it from the Turks, though he encamped against it with 8000 horse and 7000 foot, amongst which was reckoned a strong corps of Italians sent by Alfonso King of Naples, "men skilful," as the historian observes, "in the assaulting of walles and holdes." The defeat he suffered here from the Pasha Sebalias, wherein he lost nearly all his Neapolitan auxiliaries, was amongst the severest by which his almost uninterrupted career of success was checked*. The battle was most bloody: Musache de Thiopie, brother-in-law of Scanderbeg, being killed, with 3000 foot and 2000 horse; though Scanderbeg in some measure restored the fortune of the day by pouring down from the hill, on which he was encamped with a select corps, upon the rear of the victorious enemy, and slaying with his own hand two desperate Osmanli captains who had sworn his destruction. The bodies of the Christians slain in this battle were shamefully mutilated, and their heads carried in triumph to Constantinople. Berat was conquered by the great Sultan Amurath II., since whose time it has never been freed from the Ottoman yoke.

After having surveyed the fortifications of this citadel and enjoyed a view of the splendid scenery which it commands on all sides, we remounted our steeds at the door of the serai and descended down the acropolis: I own I had no great zest for mounting my Bucephalus, but amongst these people it is quite necessary to shew no signs of fear. When we had thanked Hussein Bey for his civilities, and distributed the customary presents amongst his retainers, we took a walk through the city, which is large and contains thirteen Turkish mosques: from thence we strolled through the beau-

* Knolles's Hist. of the Turks, p. 370, &c.

tiful cemetery represented in the annexed plate: beyond this are numerous and extensive gardens bordering on the great plain, which extends to Valona on the west and very near to Albassan and Kavaia on the north: we observed large droves of buffaloes cropping the herbage, or cooling themselves in the river, which is here about as broad as the Thames at Richmond.

On our return home we dined sumptuously upon old Usuff's turkey, and in the evening received visits from some respectable Greek gentlemen: they were the only persons we had met with who spoke with any degree of satisfaction at the government of Ali Pasha; but they contrasted it with the turbulent insecure state in which they existed, owing to his aggressions, during the latter years of Ibrahim's reign: besides which, it is certain that the despot's views still turn northward, and that he is very anxious to gain possession of the pashalic of Scutari; the advantages therefore of a good character in this part of the country are not to be overlooked. We retired to rest early, having a long journey to perform next day in the direction of Klissura, Premeti and Konizza, up the valley of the Voïussa. I now gladly use the kind permission of my friend Mr. Jones, to take an extract from his MS. journal, feeling confident that in this I do but anticipate the wishes of my reader.

Berat, Oct. 2d, 1815.—The pasha having sent horses, according to his promise, we left Berat about nine o'clock in the morning for the ruins of Pollina, the ancient Apollonia. Below the hi.., upon which stands the great fortress and seraglio, we passed through a Turkish cemetery, containing an astonishing number of tombs, under the shade of which the Albanians, employed upon the works, were eating their breakfast. Our road lay in a direction nearly N. W. until we crossed

the river, which is the Apsus of antiquity. After this we entered into an immense plain covered with all kinds of cattle, buffaloes, horses, sheep, and goats. At about the middle of this plain we again reached the banks of the Apsus, and followed its course till it took a sudden turn to the N. W. It was our intention to have reached the monastery of Payane, which lies close to the ruins, this evening, but night coming on, we took up our quarters in a wretched village called Shaelk: our lodging, which was the best in the place, was a miserable hut built of the stalks of Indian corn, twigs, and mud; three large openings in the wall serving for door, windows, and chimney. Early next morning we left these quarters and reached the monastery in two hours, where an old monk undertook to be our guide to the ruins of Apollonia.

A single Doric column forms the sole vestige of this once great and populous city, the theatre of Cæsar and Pompey's contests, and the place of Augustus's early education. A few other relics remain in the walls of the monastery, and in some Turkish sepulchres on the road from Berat there are several inscriptions, but all sepulchral. In every map which I have seen, Pollina is placed too far from the sea, and too near to the Voïussa. From hence we pursued our course in a southern direction through the small village of Lievano, crossed the Voïussa in a ferry-boat, and proceeding along a fertile plain, arrived at Avlona in the evening. This town contains about a thousand houses, almost all Turkish. From hence we crossed over the hills just behind the town, and proceeding in a S. E. direction, came to the river Susitza, a considerable stream, nearly as large as the Voïussa, into which it flows just below the village of Armen: this is probably the Celydnus of antiquity: it takes its rise in the mountains of Kimarra. From the village we proceeded nearly in an eastern direction, till we came near to the Voïussa, and then turning to the right, arrived at the village of Selenitza, about half a mile from which is the principal shaft

of the great pitch mines, which bring in a considerable revenue to the vizir*. Placed in the noose of a rope I descended down this shaft: it was about forty feet deep, and of recent formation. Advancing near two miles further up the Voïussa, I came to a spot of ground devoid of all vegetation, from whence proceeded a strong sulphureous smell. My servant struck a light with which I set fire to the gas that issued out of the crevices; the flame spread rapidly in different directions, and burned with great fury at the time of my departure. I perceived a number of bees and reptiles lying dead upon the ground near these crevices. Close to the spot are three oblong blocks of stone worked with great nicety, which had been turned up out of the ground by people digging for sulphur: these probably are fragments of the ancient oracular Nymphæum †. From the village of Romous in this vicinity, we proceeded through Carbonara to the ferry of Lundra, for the purpose of crossing the Voïussa and visiting the ruins at Gradista on the right bank of that river. This ancient city surmounted the summit of a lofty hill, round which the outer wall may still easily be traced: a transverse one of later date runs across the site formed of small stones and mortar. In a westerly direction from this transverse wall are the remains of a temple, and on turning southward I found a long subterranean chamber of an oblong shape, but narrow in proportion to its length: at no great distance from the southern wall of the city stood evidently a theatre; the angular corners of the proscenium are visible, and the ground is seen rising in a graduated manner.

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* This pitch seems to have been celebrated in ancient times.

Fusca vocetur
Nigrior ILLYRICA cui pice sanguis erit.
Ovid. de Arte Amandi. ii. 657.

† Concerning this spot Strabo thus writes. Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν καλεῖταί τι Νυμφαῖον· πέτρα δ' ἐστὶ πῦρ ἀναδιδοῦσα· ὑπ' ἀντῇ δὲ κρήναι ῥέουσι χλιαρᾶ ἀσφάλτου καιομένης ὡς εἰκὸς τῆς βώλου τῆς ἀσφαλτίτιδος. L. vii. p. 316. A more full description may be found in Dion Cassius, who gives an account of the oracle, l. xli. § 45. See also liv. xlii. 36. Plin. iii. 26. Van Dale de Orac. p. 287, &c.

From Gradista I meant to have proceeded by the direct road to Tepeleni; but my Albanian guard had lately taken a wife, and as he had not seen her for some time, I indulged him by passing the night in his house at the village of Fratari, on the mountains which lie to the left of the road. The customs of the country did not permit me to see the lady who was the object of our visit.

In the course of the evening several of his Albanian friends came to see him, in their large shaggy capotes, with long pipes and white staves in their hands. Some of these were the wildest looking fellows I ever beheld. A wandering dervish passed the night with us. He was above eighty years of age, wore a very long white beard, and was extremely talkative till about the hour of going to rest: then he assumed a sudden seriousness preparatory to his prayers. I could not help feeling a degree of respect mingled with pity, when I saw this venerable old man go through his ablutions and prayers: he performed part in silence and part loud enough to be heard, repeating the name of Mohammed two or three times with great solemnity.

From Fratari we did not arrive at Tepeleni till the second day, as the roads became extremely bad on account of a heavy fall of rain. The vizir is fortifying this town and has already cut a deep trench at the back of it. The direct route from hence to Ioannina is through Argyro-Castro and Delvinaki; but as the plague was now raging at the former place, I deviated to the once beautiful city of Gardiki, now utterly overthrown or rendered desolate by the vizir, who has vowed that it shall never again become the habitation of man. From hence I continued my route between two high mountain ridges till I descended into the plain of Delvino; but here also I found the plague broken out and the city surrounded with troops to prevent all communication. The sick were in a kind of barrack on the hills behind the town. Being told there was a palaio-castro or some ancient ruins at the village of Phenikè, about half an hour distant, I proceeded

thither, sending my guard forward to inquire if any symptoms of the plague were known to be in the place. Upon receiving assurance that all was right, I determined to take up my quarters there for the night. Soon after my arrival a large fire of wood was lighted at the foot of the hill, and a goat roasted whole to welcome me. The whole village formed a circle round the fire and I seated myself amongst them. It was a beautiful moonlight, and in spite of that unwelcome visiter the plague being so near, I could not help enjoying the singularity of the scene.

Early next morning, being told there was a curious fountain on the eastern side of the hill, I ascended thither; but found in it nothing extraordinary, though the inhabitants assured me that it had a regular increase and diminution daily during the summer. From hence I ascended the hill by a steep path covered with fern and briars to an ancient wall, which highly gratified my curiosity. I found it in a very perfect state to the distance of sixty yards in length, and twenty-three feet in height. The stones employed in its construction are immensely large. I measured one which was seven feet long, twenty-one feet high, and three feet two inches broad: another was nine feet eight inches in length by seven feet two inches in breadth; and in one spot three stones alone form a piece of wall thirteen feet in extent. These blocks are cut with great accuracy and seem as firm as if they had been placed here but a few days. In the interior, the ground is almost on a level with the top of the wall. I entered by what appears to have been the principal gateway, and soon observed two octagonal columns about ten yards distant from each other, the fragment of a fluted pillar, and some other relics. The area is covered with briars and herbage, and exhibits evident marks of its having been occupied at two distinct periods by more modern inhabitants than the ancient Hellenes. Thinking it probable, from the appearance of the stones, that some inscription might be discovered, I procured assistance from the peasants

in removing several, and discovered one inscribed with the following word in large characters:

Excavations here in all probability would be very successful. Not far distant I found two other octagonal columns standing, like the others, erect, and about two feet in height, with many other architectural fragments, and foundations of several edifices. There is also what I take to be the site of an immense theatre, facing the west, where the ground is seen to rise like a succession of steps one behind the other. The wall is most perfect on the eastern side of the hill along its brow: it appears also at intervals on the western side: the whole circumference seems about two miles: in some parts it is scarcely thirty yards in breadth, and is intersected in its sides by deep hollows: at its north-west extremity (for it runs north-west and south-east) it is lower and terminates almost in a point: towards the other end and on each side it is so steep as to make the ascent extremely difficult. The whole rises quite abruptly near the centre of the plain of Delvino; at the south-east end of which is the little village of Pheniké. This situation is assigned by Signore Psalida to the ancient oracle of Dodona; but the only features which appear to correspond with Strabo's account are the following:—1. The plain, very marshy, particularly towards the south, where two rivers lose themselves in a considerable lake, viz. the Bistritza, which flows from Mourzina five hours south-east from Pheniké, and the Kalesproti which runs on the west side of the hill.—2. The hill itself, surrounded on all sides by magnificent mountains, except towards the south where the sea and the island of Corfu are seen above the low eminences.—3. The fountain on the east side of the hill.

The epithets δυσχείμερος and αἰπυνωτος, which Homer and Æschylus apply to Dodona well accord with this situation: there are many trees, principally willows and poplars, on the plain; but I could discover no traces of the prophetic oaks*.

From Pheniké I went along the banks of the Bistritza to its source. I visited in my way an old Greek church, dedicated to Saint Nicolo, distant about one hour from the village; it is evidently constructed with materials brought from the ruins: the interior is supported by granite columns some of which are twenty inches in diameter, but others less: they are not more than seven feet in height: in the walls are several blocks sculptured in relief with figures of a lion, an eagle, &c. well executed. Amongst others I found one with an inscription defaced, but terminated by the word XAIPETE "Farewel!" The source of the river is just below the village of Mourzina. Half issues out of the rock in at least fifty streams of the sweetest and most transparent water: the other half proceeds from a pool, which appears very deep, as the surface is not ruffled by the least ebullition. I was shewn at another place a round hole in the rock, from which a few years ago water also flowed; but this is now dry. The rock appears of limestone: the water issues out in most places with great velocity and forms a stream as large as the Avon at Bath.

From hence, passing through Mourzina, we proceeded between two immense ridges of mountains branching off from that which forms the western boundary of the great vale of Deropuli, whose scenery soon

* From this accurate account of Mr. Jones, the classical reader will, I think, agree with me in what I have before observed regarding the fallibility of Signore Psalida's opinion regarding the site of Dodona. In fact, the ruins above mentioned belong to the ancient city of Phœnice, whose very name is still preserved in the modern village: it was the strongest and richest city of all Epirus; (πολὺ ἡ Φοινίκη διέφερε τότε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον πόλεων ἐνδαιμονίᾳ· Polyb. l. ii.): it was betrayed by some Gaulish mercenaries to the Illyrians in the reign of Queen Teuta, a circumstance which Polybius says struck terror into the Grecian cities when they saw τὴν ὀχυρωτάτην ἅμα καὶ δυνατωτάτην πόλιν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ παραλόγως ἕως ἐξηνδραποδιζομένην· (l. ii.) and from hence he takes occasion to blame the Epirots for relying on such a faithless crew as the Gauls, and hints at the danger of trusting an opulent city to the protection of mercenaries.

burst upon our view, exhibiting a prospect of unparalleled magnificence in its noble mountains and its numerous towns and villages. We passed across it to a village on its eastern side, but the inhabitants would not receive us when they heard we came from the neighbourhood of Delvino: we were obliged therefore to keep on our course, and as it was a fine moonlight night, and we were travelling under a Grecian sky, we scarcely regretted our disappointment. We rested at Pondicatis, and next day reached Zitza, a place celebrated in the stanzas of Childe Harold, though I think his encomium is much too lavish. The view is certainly fine, but far inferior to the vale of Deropuli and many others of Epirus. Here is made the best wine in Greece, and this was the time of vintage. All the wine is made out in the fields, where the grapes are put into large casks and trod upon by men bare-footed, till the juice is quite expressed: it is then carried in goat skins to the village, put into barrels, and left to ferment and settle: it is removed in this manner four or five times before it is put into the cask for drinking.

In my way from Zitza to Ioannina I passed through the village of Protopapas, which some consider as the site of Dodona: I made diligent inquiries for ruins, but could find none. The approach to Ioannina from the north appeared to me much finer than that from the south, its grand seraglio, fortress, minarets, and cypress groves being seen from this quarter to great advantage. The last few days I passed in Ioannina were rendered melancholy to me, from a very distressing circumstance. On my arrival, October 12th, I was informed that two English gentlemen were in the city, one of whom lay dangerously ill. I went immediately to visit them and found the sick person to be a Mr. King whom I had known at Corfu, and from whom I experienced many civilities. He was chaplain to the Ionian forces, and had come with his friend Captain Scriven of the Royal Artillery, to see Ioannina and pay a visit to Ali Pasha. Great alarms were expressed, for fear his disorder might be the plague, and I was earnestly requested to leave the place; this however I could not consent to do, especially as I per-

ceived Mr. King's illness was the malaria fever, which he, as well as his servant, had caught at Prevesa. He was apparently about forty years of age, and possessed of as strong and robust a constitution as I ever met with; but he died in my arms on the 15th, and I buried him next evening in the cemetery of the Greek church of St. Nicolo. On the following day I procured a stone slab, which, after I had inscribed upon it the name and titles of the deceased, I placed at the head of his grave. The day before I quitted Ioannina I visited the vizir in company with Captain Scriven. The chief subject of our conversation related to the unfortunate death of Mr. King: he appeared affected by the event; but whether this proceeded from humanity I will not pretend to say. The same day we also paid a visit to Salee Pasha, the vizir's youngest son. He had lately received two tails from the Porte and been created Pasha. He received us sitting like his father, and asked us several pertinent questions respecting our own country and our opinion of Albania. Next day I departed for Athens over the mountain barrier of the Pindus.

Perched Rock in the Suburbs of Premeti—Turkish Burial Ground, and Bridge over the Voiussa.

CHAPTER XI.

Departure from Berat—Route to Klissura—Description of the Town and Fortress—Fauces Antigoneæ—Route to Premeti—Lustral Eggs—Town of Premeti, Serai, and curious Rock on the Bank of the Voiussa—Interesting Route to Ostanitza—Castra-Pyrrhi—Ostanitza—Route to Konitza—Picturesque Situation of that City—Mountain of Papingo—Albanian Governor's Hospitality—Ascent to the ancient Fortress—Beautiful Crystals found on the Hill—Route to Mavro-vouni, and from thence to Ioannina—Ceremonies of Easter—Greek Fasts—Visit to the Vizir, Mouchtar and Mahmet Pashas—Money Affairs at Ioannina, Rate of Interest, &c.—Visit to Signore Logotheti of Livàdia—Excursion to the Island in search of MSS.—Dinner with Mouchtar Pasha—Vizir sends his Chaoushes for us—Translation of his Papers—Interesting Conversation with Ali—Sudden Change of Weather—Visit to the Convent of Saint George, on Occasion of its Festival—Moonlight Scene from the Heights of Mitzikeli—Anecdote of Mustafà—Scene with the Hegumenos—Greek Convents and Caloyers—Last Interview with Ali Pasha, &c. —Departure from Ioannina.

APRIL 6.—This morning we started on our return. For a short distance we ascended up the fine valley of the Apsus, terminated far off by the huge Tomour*, and then turning to the right proceeded in a southerly direction through a valley of two hours in length, bounded by moderate hills covered with evergreens, and interspersed with many cultivated spots, but few habitations. We then ascended upon higher ground and had not only a noble prospect in front of the dark mountains of Kolonia, but a very fine retrospective view of Berat with its fortified citadel, and the gigantic Tomour. For the next three hours we proceeded in a general descent of country through valleys and beds of torrents, and found the country exhibiting signs of greater population: at the end of five hours we passed the large Turkish village of Tojar, upon the side of a mountain on the right, where about fifteen years before Ali and Ibrahim had fought several sanguinary battles; about two miles further appeared a small fort built by the vizir upon the summit of a hill, at the bottom of which stood a spacious han called the Han of Ali; we had passed another called the Han of Ibrahim near an hour before. For the next four hours the road was generally uninteresting, up and down hills and in the beds of torrents; only a few houses were scattered about, and each of those generally occupied the summit of an eminence, isolated as it were for the sake of security. We crossed at least as many as thirty streams, and two of those nearly thirty times. At the end of these last four hours we arrived at a han, but so disgustingly filthy and miserable that we determined to proceed to another about two hours further on. The latter part of this

* This mountain is called by Strabo Τόμαρος or Τμάρος; but Eustathius ad Od. π. gives it an appellation much nearer its modern sound, Τόμερος. It is often mentioned by the Byzantine historians, and seems to have had a strong citadel or fortress in its vicinity. Τίμωρον Φρύριόν τι καὶ αὐτὸ εσπέριον περὶ Παλάγριτα φκισμένον· (Cantacuz. Hist. p. 301.) If the Tomarus of Dodona be confined to this spot it will upset all the theories yet formed upon the subject: but as this latter place is always reckoned in Epirus, and Tomour is far beyond its limits, some other range of hills must have had this appellation: in fact the mountains of Kolonia and Zagori appear to be but branches of this enormous trunk.

route lay through a lovely plain under a magnificent mountain on the right called Trebesheena, opposite to which we found the han destined for our resting place, situated in one of the most picturesque sites that can be imagined.

Next morning we resumed our journey for one hour through a beautiful valley, under Mount Trebesheena to Klissura, which is situated on a tremendous precipice of that mountain, where the Voïussa pours its foaming waters through the great defile, anciently known by the name of "Stena Aoi," or "Fauces Antigoneæ."

The situation of this town is singular in the extreme. It lies at a considerable height up the mountain, which is a rock totally bare of vegetation, and beyond it appears a large fortress, built by Ali, to curb the spirit of this district, upon the very edge of a precipice more than a thousand feet in perpendicular height. We rode up to the town, which contains about two hundred inhabited houses, which are certainly amongst the most miserable tenements we beheld in all our travels, and their occupants exhibited such a picture of misery as was frightful to the imagination. A few dirty rags served as an apology for clothing to the adults, and the children absolutely went stark naked; though the thick coating of dirt with which their bodies were lined might almost be said to stand in the stead of garments. A large colony of gypsies still more wretched in appearance, if possible, were mingled with the inhabitants. In ascending to the fortress we observed a great number of ruined habitations, amounting to between three and four hundred, which gave a still more desolate appearance to the view of this arid rock*. The castle is large, though not built for long duration; artillery could with difficulty be brought to bear against it. Near the foundation of the first entrance are

* A very extensive cemetery in the plain below Klissura, where a large Tekè or Turkish monastery was just erected, denotes the former population of this place. The people are said to have emigrated about half a century ago to the mountains of Kolonia.

several layers of Greek masonry, which shew that this important post was not neglected by the ancient masters in the art of war. If a city ever existed in their time upon this spot, it was probably Antigonea. Before we entered into the castle we ventured as near as safety allowed to the giddy height upon which it stands. Looking down we beheld the Aous still chafing its channel between two tremendous walls of rock, which scarcely leave room for the river and the narrow road which winds along its side*. The noise of the foaming torrent at this height is heard only in gentle murmurs. Beyond the Trebesheena, upon which Klissura is situated, another lofty mountain runs parallel to it from north to south called Mesgourani, both of which form one side of this contracted defile. The opposite heights are called Melchiovo, and are branches of the vast chain of Mertzika. From this advantageous position the Roman Consul Flaminius drove Philip King of Macedon by means of treachery, and thus gained an inlet into the interior of his territories. We were received into the fortress by its governor, and conducted over the fortifications. To this place Ali frequently sends his state prisoners as to one of complete security. We observed several of these wretched victims of his tyranny and suspicion: one of them was a poor Greek of Lepanto, who had been seized at the dead of night in his bed, and hurried away instantly to Ioannina, from whence, after having been detained in a noisome dungeon eighteen months he was banished to this dreadful prison, where he had remained two years without even knowing the crime for which he suffered: the poor man could attribute his misfortunes only to having procured a protection from the French ambassador at the Porte. Another prisoner was a young black eunuch, sent hither for having struck with a knife and wounded one of the vizir's pages: this appeared a malicious urchin, and could scarcely be restrained by manual correction from his savage propensities.

* Is inter montes quorum alterum Æropum, alterum Asnaum incolæ vocant, angusta valle fluit, iter exiguum super ripam præbens. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 5.

Having satisfied our curiosity, we descended into the town to satisfy our appetites with some coarse calamboci bread and eggs, and then set forward again up the valley of Aous, taking the same road as that by which Philip fled from the Roman legions. At the outskirts of the town we met a poor dervish in ragged apparel, who beckoned me from the party and begged alms in a most piteous tone: after I had satisfied his request, he whispered in my ear the following sentence: Εἶναι ὁ Πασιὰ κακὸς ἄνθρωπος· χαλάζει τὲς Τάρκες·—"The vizir is a bad man, for he ruins the Turks." A curious character for a Turkish pasha in a district of Greece! The torrent of the river, which is always rapid and impetuous, was now greatly augmented by the melting snows: the bridges thrown across its channel are numerous and handsome, many having been erected by the Byzantine emperors, and distinguished by marks of the Greek cross. The distance from Klissura to Premeti is about five hours: we crossed the Voïussa to enter this town by a handsome bridge, upon which a Turk of some distinction had been hanged a week before, for having shot a poor Greek in a brawl at a tavern. The gallows was erected over the centre arch, and the criminal hung for several days, a warning to all who came in or out of the city, that the vizir has no respect for persons in the punishment of delinquents.

Premeti is situated in a beautiful recess under some of the loftiest crags of Mertzika, which here rise perpendicularly from their bases, shooting their spiry forms into the sky with all the varieties of Alpine scenery. The snow at this time lay deep on their summits, and is contained in cavities during the whole of the year. Numerous wolves infest this district, against whose ravages the fierce race of Molossian dogs is the only security. We found Antonietti with our luggage safely lodged in the house of an elderly widow lady, which, like all the other houses in this place, stands separate and distinct from its neighbours. After dinner our hostess came into the room with much ceremony, and having kissed our hands, presented us with some boiled eggs dyed in various colours; an offering very general amongst the

Greeks in the season of Passion-week. For these lustral eggs there seems to be good classical authority.

Et veniat quæ lustret anus lectumque locumque
Præferat et tremula sulphur & ova manu *.

Being tired with our journey we repaired early to rest; next morning we paid a visit to the governor, who resided in a large serai above the town, which Salee Bey inhabited before he was removed to Argyro-Castro. This building was fitted up with greater splendour than any we had seen except that of Tepeleni: it contained very fine baths and a beautiful kiosk, paved with marble, in the midst of which was a fountain: the serai is situated in a kind of paddock, to which extensive gardens are annexed; it is also surrounded by strong works, but no cannon are yet mounted. The governor, attended by his guards, escorted us in our return to the city, the only curiosity of which, worthy description†, is a large isolated rock on the left bank of the river, apparently about sixty feet high, and three hundred in circuit at its base, (see the vignette.) On the top of this appear the ruins of ancient edifices; but though we were anxious to ascend and satisfy our curiosity, not a rope nor a ladder could be procured for this purpose. At length a young Albanian boy, about twelve years old, undertook to climb up the steep side with no assistance but his hands and feet, and this task he accomplished with apparent ease, by clinging to the rock, and supporting himself with a few roots and twigs that grew within the interstices. From his description the whole summit is surrounded by a dilapidated wall, in the interior of which is a ruined chapel and a

* Ovid de Arte Am. ii. 329. See also Juvenal Sat. vi. 516.

——— nisi se centum lustraverit ovis.

Lucian also makes mention of the ὠὸν ἐκ καθαρσίου. Dial. Mort. i. § 1.

† Premeti is celebrated in the following Albanian proverb—"Premeti, jeineti, pach bouk, eshum yee"—or "Premeti, l'inferno, poco pane, molt' acqua."

tank or cistern of water. It is in all probability a small fortress, built during the times of the Eastern Empire*.

Having mounted our horses at this spot, and taken leave of our courteous guide, we advanced for about two hours up the left bank of the Voïussa, then crossed it by a noble bridge of three arches, and soon came into some of the most magnificent scenery which nature can present to the traveller. The richness of vegetation in these concave valleys, covered with every species of beautiful shrub and the most luxuriant verdure, was finely contrasted with the snowy ridges of their mountain barriers: sometimes the defiles became contracted, and the road closed up as it were by two walls, paining the eye to scan their inaccessible summits: at other times impending rocks and precipices on the one side, served only to set off the fine curvilinear sweep of the hills on the other, and for many miles we had an alternate succession of these grand natural theatres, the semicircular coilon being alternately on the right hand and on the left, whilst the impetuous Aous dashed from rock to rock as it were in a series of continual cascades. Here and there a fine picturesque bridge added a new feature to these romantic scenes, a mountain cataract came foaming across the path, and villages appeared upon craggy heights that seemed to defy every hand but his that wields the thunder. Some of these were at this time deserted

* The following is the account given of this rock by Mr. Jones. "Near the river is a curious perpendicular rock, at least sixty feet high, on which are ruins. I procured a ladder which reached half way to the summit, and climbed up the other half with great difficulty, by putting the sash of my guide round the roots of a tree which grows from the side. Round the edge of the rock I found a wall about six feet high, with battlements at equal distances, and on the north side where I ascended there is a small tower. Towards the south are two rooms, and the foundation of a third: the middle one is exactly similar to a bath in the old Moorish castle of Cintra in Portugal, but rather smaller in dimensions: it contained clear water about three feet in depth; but it was evident from the marks on the wall, that the water sometimes rose higher. My guide, who was the didascalos and most learned man of the place, told me it never was without water, and that when some of the inhabitants once endeavoured to empty it, they could not succeed. It is fifteen feet long, nine wide, and seven high, from the water to the centre of the arched roof. This, as well as the room adjoining, was coated with cement or stucco. The account of the people here refers the whole to a religious establishment; but I should rather conceive it to have been a fortress. At the distance of a few hundred yards down the river is another rock similar to this in shape and size, on which are also a few remains of building."

by their inhabitants, on account of the plague, which was spreading itself in the district, having been introduced by some wandering gypsies. In several instances we saw the people who had descended into the plains and left the sick in their villages: these were guarded by a cordon to prevent communication, whilst the rest were encamped in tents and huts made of the boughs of trees.

After a ride of seven hours we came near the once populous town of Ostanitza. At the distance of about two miles we crossed a considerable river called the Sarandaporos, by a bridge of a single arch, so highly pitched, that we thought it prudent to descend from our steeds. This stream flows into the Voïussa, and near its junction forms with that river a beautiful peninsula, which in all probability is the ancient Castra-Pyrrhi, at which Philip arrived in his first day's retreat from Flaminius, after his unfortunate defeat in the straits of Klissura*. This peninsula is a fine eminence washed by each of these rivers, and on the summit are remains of what appear to be ancient fortifications. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the prospect from hence, down the valley of the Aous; though the fine rocky scenery above, clothed in rich wood is scarcely inferior. The terraces of this ancient fortress were covered with a turf as soft as silk, and enamelled with a thousand wild flowers, intermingling their various hues.

Having next crossed the Voïussa we passed the picturesque ruin of an old Greek church half covered with ivy, and ascended the steep hill upon which Ostanitza is situated. It is now a poor town, scarcely containing 300 houses; but the site is superb. It must once have been extremely populous and large, for I counted near twenty churches which appear to have been ruined and deserted for some centuries. We

* Rex primo die ad Castra Pyrrhi pervenit; locus, quem ita vocant, est in Triphylia terræ Melotidis; inde postro die (ingens iter agminis, sed metus urgebat) in Montem Lingon perrexit: ipsi montes Epiri sunt, interjecti Macedoniæ Thessaliæque. Latus quod vergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat; septentrio à Macedonia objicitur. Liv. l. xxxii. c. 13.

found from the inhabitants of this village more incivility than we had experienced in all the rest of our journey, and it was with difficulty that we could procure a lodging. It was pretended that the codgià-bashee was absent, and after riding about for near half an hour, we procured a miserable hut some degrees worse than an Irish cabin. We ascended to our loft by a broken ladder, and Mr. Parker had very near broken his leg by slipping through its decayed floor into the stable below: it was with the utmost difficulty we could find two sound places to spread out our beds. Other travellers also have complained of similar ill usage in this place: Mr. Jones was refused admittance altogether, and learnt that four soldiers belonging to the vizir had been murdered but a few days before his arrival.

As there was nothing here to tempt our stay, we started by sun-rise next morning and proceeded through a very picturesque and beautiful country into the great plain of Konitza, which city lies about four hours north-east of Ostanitza. It is situated on the roots of a magnificent crag, which forms one side of a deep defile, through which a foaming torrent called Voidomati, or the "ox-eye," pours its tribute into the Voïussa. The mountains on the other side this chasm are on a still grander scale, and form a noble curvature exactly similar to the exterior of an enormous Greek theatre: this resemblance at a distance is remarkably striking, and constantly attracted our attention during yesterday's ride*.

Konitza stands at the north-east end of its large triangular plain, being beautifully situated upon the declivity of a mountain whose summit is crowned with the remains of a ruined castle: to the south of this acropolis is a deep chasm amidst rocks which scarcely yield even to that of Klissura in the dark terrors of the abyss: this defile is bounded on the other side by that noble mountain range, curved in a

* Pliny, speaking of the great mountains between Thessaly and those interposed between it and Epirus, says they are all curved like a theatre! "Omnes theatrali modo inflexi." Lib. iv. c. 8.

theatroidal form, which had so strongly attracted our attention yesterday. Its modern name is Papingo; it is difficult to determine its ancient appellation: perhaps it may be that Mount Lignon over which, according to Livy, King Philip retreated into Thessaly, when he fled before the Roman consul. The Macedonian monarch is much blamed by that historian for this precipitate retreat, since, had he opposed but a few hundred men to the pursuing enemy, amidst the terrific defiles of these mountainous regions, he might not only have prevented his advance, but probably annihilated the greatest part of his army.

Konitza is one of the best specimens of an Albanian city that we saw: its houses stand for the most part separate, and the courts being planted with trees, a very pretty effect is thus given to its external aspect. It contains 5000 inhabitants, about two-thirds of which are Mahometans. It is a bishopric; but the bishop takes his title from Vellas, as that of Argyro-Castro does from Drinopolis. The bazar is particularly neat, and the habitations in general extremely good, being built of stone, with handsome shelving roofs. We rode at once up to the grand serai of the vizir, and paid our respects to its Albanian governor, a fine man, in a green old age, the intimate and confidential friend of Ali. We found him at his dinner-table with a Turkish dervish and six other Albanian friends, clothed in their sheep-skins, and eating a thick rice soup with wooden spoons. They received us with great cordiality, and were so urgent with us to dip into their mess, that common politeness forced us to gulp down a few spoonfuls of this horrid pottage. As we expressed a desire to visit the ruins of the ancient fortress, the agà sent three of his guards to conduct us up the hill. We ascended by a winding path, and as we went along picked up many of those beautiful crystals of quartz, for which this mountain is celebrated: they are found in greatest abundance after heavy rains, detached from the matrix, and as they lie mixed with the gravelly particles may easily be distinguished by their brilliancy. They are

highly diaphanous and perfect, surpassing even the famous Alençon diamonds in splendour and resembling them in form.

Upon a rocky height, just before we arrived at the summit of the mountain, we observed an ancient Greek church, dedicated to St. Barbara; but the ruined fortress itself contained nothing worthy of observation: it is probably one of those with which Justinian covered the face of this country for defence against the Huns and Sclavonic tribes which in his days began to ravage the Eastern Empire; but neither here nor in the town itself could we discover the least vestige of any ancient Hellenic building. We were however amply recompensed for the trouble of ascent by the splendid panoramic prospect which this mountain enabled us to scan.

We mounted our horses at the foot of the hill, and proceeded across the deep ravine by a large but rudely constructed wooden bridge thrown over the torrent. In a little less than three hours we recrossed the Voïussa, and proceeding in a south-west direction over a hilly country, arrived late in the evening at Mavro-Vouni, or the Black Mountain, whose appellation is derived from the nature of its soil, which gives it a very dark and gloomy appearance. On the summit stands a little village, where we slept, but started again next morning before the sun arose. We were gratified by a lovely moonlight, and the songs of nightingales resounded charmingly in the silence of the night. After the lapse of one hour we passed between two small lakes, and soon afterwards arrived at the fine plain of Kalibachi, in which are numerous villages and a new han built by the vizir. In this vicinity are the ruins of the city of Vellas, the metropolis of Konitza. At about one mile from the lake of Ioannina a noble prospect of that fine expanse of water comes into view. By the side of the road is a beautiful fountain, beneath a neat cupola, which contains seats for the accommodation of travellers. Here we opened our wallets, and made an excellent breakfast, for which the keen air of the mountains had given us an excellent appetite. We sat a considerable time after our

meal to enjoy the beauty of the scenery, and then descended to the upper lake, whose eastern side we skirted till we arrived at a han which is the station of the ferry-boats. Here, as we crossed the water, we saw, under its transparent surface, the remains of many pilasters that once supported a causeway by which a passage was effected on foot across the lake. We reached the opposite bank just below the hill of Dodona, and having left the baggage to proceed leisurely, we put our horses into a gallop, and arrived at Ioannina before our usual time of breakfast.

It was Easter Sunday, and we observed the Greeks in the streets greeting each other with the holy kiss and customary salutation of Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, or "Christ is risen." A solemn piece of mummery is on this day performed in the churches, where a wooden image, representing the body of our Saviour, which had been buried in a kind of sepulchre on the preceding Good Friday with many mournful lamentations, is now raised up and shewn by the papas to the people, who view it with every demonstration of joy and salute it with long continued exclamations of, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη—ἔιναι ἀλήθινο, ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνέστη. "Christ is risen—it is true that Christ is risen."

On this day every Greek family that can afford it eats the paschal lamb, and, as an old author has observed*, "the severity of their Lent is more easily supported by the expected enjoyment of the following festival, at which time they run into such excesses of mirth and riot, agreeable to the light and vain humour of the people, that they seem to be avenged of their late sobriety, and to make compensation to the devil for their late temperance and mortification towards God." Indeed one would suppose that the Greek church endeavoured either to push the epicurean system to the utmost by affording the highest luxury of frequent contrast, or to render life a scene of morti-

* Paul Ricaut's Present State of the Greek Church, p. 136.

fication by supporting the human frame during a small part of the year, that it may just be enabled to endure penance all the rest. More than half the year is dedicated to the most rigorous abstinence. The four grand fasts are as follow; that of Lent—that of the Holy Apostles, which begins the week after Whitsuntide—that of the Panagia, preparatory to the great festival of the Assumption—and that of the birth of Christ, which continues forty days before Christmas. There are besides these numerous others of minor consequence, as well as every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year. In most of these seasons not only is meat forbidden, but fish, butter, eggs, and oil: nothing but vegetables and a little shell-fish is allowed, and not always the latter. The priests are very zealous in recommending the rigid observance of such austerities and launching forth the thunders of excommunication against those vile offenders who presume to slight them; whilst the crime of eating flesh in Lent is that against which the highest price of absolution is fixed: adultery and murder may be compounded for at a much lower rate. "In the observation of these fasts," says the author above quoted, "they are so rigid and superstitiously strict, that they hold no case of necessity may or can claim a dispensation; and that the patriarch hath not power and authority sufficient to give a licence to eat flesh where the church hath commanded abstinence. For suppose a person sick to death, who with broth made of flesh, or with an egg, may be recovered to life, they say it were better he should die, than eat and sin. Howsoever perhaps the Ghostly Father will be so far concerned in the other's health, as to advise the sick penitent in such cases to eat flesh, and afterwards confessing the sin, he promises to grant absolution." Times have been when this power of granting absolution was a great source of gain; but times are now altered, and very few of those who can afford to pay for absolution, think they stand in need of it: the women are the only part of the community who rigidly adhere to these ordinances, to the ruin of their constitution and the torment of their lives.

How far such a system of deprivation may tend to the debasement of their progeny and the deterioration of the species, I leave to the determination of better physiologists than myself.

As soon as we had undergone the restorative process of the bath after the fatigues of our long journey, we paid a visit to the vizir in his serai of Litaritza. We thought there was an evident alteration in his manner of receiving us, and we attributed this probably to its true cause, the failure of his designs upon Parga, in which he no doubt expected British co-operation. While we sat in the room with Ali, Mouchtar Pasha was announced, who came to consult the vizir upon affairs of state: as their conversation was carried on in the Turkish language our presence was immaterial, and Ali prevented us from retiring. Mouchtar remained about twenty minutes, during which time he stood at a little distance from his father, with his hands resting upon his gold-mounted pistols, nor would he have presumed to take a seat, or been asked to do so, had the conference lasted as many hours: such is the filial reverence expected and paid to parental authority in Turkey! After Mouchtar had retired Ali conversed with us about our expedition and expressed his satisfaction that we had been at Tepeleni: he shewed us a few brass coins which had been dug up at Apollonia, but they were all Roman and devoid of interest. We soon took our leave and adjourned to the serai of Mouchtar Pasha, who was anxious to hear news of his son as well as our opinion of Berat: he told us a long story respecting the palaio-castro at Jarresi near Tepeleni, saying that it belonged to a daughter of King Pyrrhus, being given as her dowry in marriage to an Illyrian prince: where he found this legend I am unable to tell. After this visit we adjourned to eat the paschal lamb with our friend M. Pouqueville, and spent a very agreeable day in comparing notes respecting what we had seen and heard during our Albanian excursion. The next morning was dedicated to paying and receiving visits from our Greek acquaintance, and pro-

curing money for our bills upon Constantinople: in this latter negotiation we had no difficulty, for it happened to be the time when Mouchtar Pasha received his revenue, and as he was obliged to forward money to Constantinople he found our bills a great accommodation. We procured cash chiefly in gold, for convenience in travelling, though we were obliged to pay a premium for this. The gold coin highest in esteem throughout Turkey is the Venetian sequin, executed with as much deficiency in point of taste as the ancient Athenian tetradrachm*; but like it equally valued on account of its superior purity and freedom from alloy. The elementary or lowest degree of Turkish money is the asper†, of which three make one parà: forty paràs are equal to one piastre, and the piastre may be reckoned equivalent to a French franc. There are also pieces of twenty, sixty, eighty, and one hundred paràs, which last is the largest silver coin. The Ottoman gold coins are rare: the largest are equal to five piastres and the smallest to half that sum. Gold always fetches a premium in the south of Europe, but more especially in Turkey, where the despotic nature of its government imposes the necessity of hoarding upon its people: moreover the silver coin is extremely debased, and is now little better than plated copper, which is soon made apparent after the parà has been carried a week in the pocket. Every piece of coin, both gold and silver, is stamped with sentences from the Koran, for the Turks carry their prejudices against image-worship so far that they will not allow even their favourite idol to be figured with the resemblance of man or beast. No laws being established respecting usury in Turkey, the rate of in-

* For a most ingenious and interesting Dissertation upon Athenian Coinage by Lord Aberdeen, see Mr. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 425.

† This also, though the lowest coin, is used by the Greeks and Turks as the general expression for wealth; thus when they wish to denote a very rich man they say he has many aspers—"ἔχει πολλὰ ἄσπρα." The expression in St. Mark's Gospel, c. vi. v. 8, is somewhat similar to this—"μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν"—The zone or girdle, is used in Turkey and all other parts of the East, in which the purse is carried.

terest is very fluctuating: it varies generally from ten to thirty per cent.*; but when the rate is very exorbitant the security is proportionably slight: some money-holders prefer the safe, others the speculating plan, according as their prudence or their cupidity preponderates. Ali Pasha employs a curious method of gaining a per-centage upon money in his dominions. When the time approaches for paying his troops or otherwise disposing of any large sums, he buys up the gold coin at the rate which it bears in Constantinople, pays it out at the high price to which this very circumstance has advanced it, and then, when his own payment has by a plentiful circulation reduced its value again, he orders all his revenues and other dues to be paid in gold.

Next day we resumed our visits amongst the Greek families of our acquaintance, and found our old friend the Archon Logotheti of Livadia, who had arrived at Ioannina during our absence. He was lodged with three or four companions in a smoky miserable tenement, a perfect contrast to the elegant and luxurious mansion wherein we had visited him at his native place. His residence at Ioannina was the result of Ali's policy, who obliges the primates and other officers of the Greek cities in his dominions to reside a portion of the year in the capital. This circumstance, together with the quartering of his troops upon the city, has more than quadrupled the expenses of house-rent, board, and lodging, since his accession to the sovereignty of Epirus. We brought Signore Logotheti home to dine with us, and were happy in this and other opportunities of returning the civilities that we had formerly received from him.

April 13.—This morning I set out in a caique, accompanied by Signore Nicolo, and visited the island, for the purpose of searching the monasteries for manuscripts. In this investigation however we were

* The rate of usury was sometimes very high amongst the ancients. In "the Feast" of Lucian Zenothemis is railed at by Cleodemus for his avarice in taking four per cent. per month, or forty-eight per annum.

ὀδ' ἐπὶ τέτταρσι δραχμαῖς δανείζω. § 32.

completely disappointed: not a book beyond those necessary for the service of the church, a few folios of miracles or lives of saints; not a MS. except a copy of the psalter and a collection of hymns. We searched diligently six convents: the seventh was prohibited to us, being at this time the prison of the two unfortunate sons of Mustafà Pasha, and the cells of the monks occupied by Albanian soldiers: as all these *religious houses* have at various times undergone a similar conversion, the reader will not be surprised at the failure of our enterprise. As we returned home across the lake about noon, our ears caught the tinkling sound of distant music, and on looking to the quarter from whence it proceeded, we observed two monoxyla rowing towards us very swiftly: presently we heard our names called out in a loud harsh tone, and then discovered how the boats were freighted. In the first was Mouchtar Pasha with his chief physician for a companion, whilst the second carrying his major-domo and his cook, was loaded with large stores of eatables and a household fiddler, like the ancient bard, that invariable concomitant of the feast*, stretching his lungs to the tortured catgut and celebrating in wild Albanian music the deeds of Ali and his valiant sons. Mouchtar was in high spirits, but all his boisterous exclamations could not discompose a muscle in the face of this modern Phemius, or disarrange a note of his inharmonious strains. The pasha insisted upon our returning to dine with him on the island; an invitation which needed not a repetition either to Nicolo or myself.

At landing we were met by a concourse of people who accompanied us to a neat well-furnished house, where a considerable number both of men and women staid in the room laughing and joking with the pasha as if they had been his equals. Indeed the manners of the prince ap-

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*Ου γὰρ ἔγω γέ τι φημὶ τέλος χαριέστερον εἶναι
Ἢ ὅταν ἐυφροσύνη μὲν ἔχῃ, κατὰ δῆμον ἀπάσης,
Δαιτυμόνες δ' ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκουάζωνται ἀοιδοῦ.*

peared but little superior to those of his retainers, whilst his coarse and boisterous mirth seemed admirably adapted to the meridian of their capacities. In the mean time the cook and people of the house were busily employed in heating and preparing the viands, and in a short time about twenty as neat and piquant dishes were set before us in regular succession as ever graced a pasha's table. Mouchtar just took off the edge of his appetite with four hard eggs and a proper quantity of bread! and at dinner when I affirm that he eat as much as two English ploughmen I believe I am within the line of truth. We made a partie quarrée, consisting of the pasha and his physician, Signore Nicolo and myself, and we dispatched the meal in little less than one hour and a half. Two or three women stood in the room nearly all this time, with whom Mouchtar laughed and joked between courses: he also rallied poor Nicolo, asking him whether this was not better fare than what he met with at Rustschuk? Nicolo shook his head mournfully at the mention of that dire abode, where, during a long siege, he had frequently been glad to make one meal a-day, though that was upon horse-flesh, and rarely stirred out of a subterranean cavern which he had dug for himself as a defence against the shells of the Russian artillery. The recollection of these privations however did not diminish his appetite, which seemed rather inclined towards the compensatory system of things. We drank the best wine which this part of the country produces, though it cannot boast of many positive good qualities. When an hour had elapsed after dinner, we left Mouchtar to enjoy his siesta, while we perambulated this beautiful little island and admired the charming scenery which its whole circuit displays. I could not help making a remark upon the voracity of the grandee we had just left, to his physician, and requested to know how it was possible for a person to indulge such an inordinate appetite with impunity. The doctor replied that he was as much astonished as I was, "but those Turks, they are used to it." After our walk we took a pipe and some coffee, and as Mouchtar Pasha intended to sleep on the island for the

purpose of an early shooting excursion next morning, we returned in the cool of the evening to the city. Next morning it being understood that I had been to search for manuscripts on the island, a person brought to me for sale an unedited treatise upon astronomy by Meletius the Archbishop of Athens: it consisted of about 400 pages in 4to., and the figures as well as the text were executed with remarkable neatness; but I had had too much experience of this worthy prelate's blunders upon earth in his incomparable geography, to fancy that he would be found more accurate in his delineation of the heavens. I therefore left this treasure in the possession of its proprietor.

Scarcely a week had elapsed since our Albanian expedition, when the whole city of Ioannina was thrown into alarm on our account. This happened whilst we were spending an evening accidentally at Mons. Pouqueville's, when the vizir suddenly sent for us to his serai: as we were not found at home, and no one knew where we had gone, at least a score kaivasis and chaoushes, with their gold and silver sticks, were dispatched over the town and environs to find us. Rumour stretched out all her wings, and opened all her mouths upon the occasion, and amidst the thousand reports afloat concerning us, the prevalent opinion was that the *buldrun* was to be our habitation in revenge for the vizir's disappointed ambition at Parga. Even Mons. Pouqueville himself was infected with the alarm, and with a characteristic trait of generosity offered us the asylum of his consular dwelling, which he assured us Ali dare not violate.

However, neither Mr. Parker nor myself felt any alarm, but followed the chaoushes with great tranquillity through the streets to the serai of Litaritza. There we found the vizir in the highest state of good humour possible, and his reception of us more cordial than any we had before received. We were his dear friends, the natives of a country which he entirely loved—coffee, sweetmeats, and pipes, were brought to us by wholesale, and the fine arms in the Albanian room taken down for our inspection. The grand secret of all this soon came out.

He had just received notice that his frigate, which he had sent to Malta for the purpose of being rigged, copper bottomed, mounted with guns, and supplied with stores, had arrived in the harbour of Prevesa, and the good humour now exhibited seemed as if it was occasioned by this sop thrown to the Epirotic Cerberus. A list of all the articles furnished from the British arsenals had been forwarded by the port-admiral; but that important document being written in English, had put all the scholars of the seraglio to their wits end, though many of them before this had boasted not a little of their attainments in our northern language. When all had tried and failed, Ali bethought himself of our assistance, and for this purpose sent his chaoushes to escort us to the seraglio.

The papers being put into our hands we adjourned to the little justice-parlour in the court of the serai, where our first introduction to the vizir took place; and with the help of Signore Colovo transferred their meaning into Romaic, through the medium of the Italian, though in many instances we were sadly puzzled by the nautical terms for various unknown instruments: by the help however of blanks, asterisks, and a few good guesses, we made out a tolerable translation, though we spent three hours in the labour.

Next morning, Mr. Parker feeling indisposed, I waited alone upon the vizir, to know if he was satisfied with our performance, and if we could render him any further assistance. I found him in a room very magnificently furnished, and according to his common custom, smoking the houka. He appeared much elated by his acquisition, thanked me in a courteous manner for the trouble we had taken, and expressed his intention of going immediately to Salagora to review his fleet. He then entered into conversation with me respecting our late tour, asked many questions respecting my opinion of the country, and of his son Salee, and appeared pleased with the answers which I gave him respecting the latter: he asked me also if we had discovered any silver

mines in his country; but I assured him that neither my friend nor myself had studied mineralogy: he said he thought there were some in the neighbourhood of Tepeleni, and many persons had told him so. Who these could be I am unable to conjecture; but if one ever did discover any it would be the height of cruelty to make them known to him, and thus condemn hundreds of his unfortunate subjects to perpetual imprisonment in the noxious bowels of the earth. When we arrived at the neighbourhood of Tepeleni, I expected he would have touched upon the massacre of Gardiki: but in this I was disappointed, for he was silent upon that subject, and I did not dare to introduce it. He then requested some information respecting the nations that in ancient times possessed the districts over which he had extended his dominion: at the same time he paid a handsome compliment to the generality of English travellers, for the knowledge they acquired upon such subjects. With a much more limited range of information than the vizir gave me credit for, and still having to struggle with peculiar difficulties in the language that formed the medium of communication, I endeavoured to satisfy his curiosity by giving him a succinct account of the early settlers in these regions, of their colonization by the Greeks, and their subjection to the Romans. He listened with great attention and apparent interest, but made me dwell particularly upon the exploits of Pyrrhus, of whose character he never before had any distinct notion: he inquired with a certain air of mistrust about the elephants which that monarch employed in his military operations, and asked, with a laugh, whether I thought elephants would be of any use against his Albanian palikars: to this I answered, that the mode of warfare was entirely altered since the days of Pyrrhus, owing to the invention of fire-arms; but that even now those animals were employed in great numbers by our military men in the East Indies. We then passed on to the Roman conquerors, and he seemed not a little elated when I told him that the empire of the

world had been twice contested within the limits of his dominion, once by land on the Pharsalian plains, and once by sea in the Gulf of Actium: he said he had heard that the palaio-castro, near Prevesa, was the record of a great victory, but did not know before that it was one of such great consequence.

My tobacco being now consumed, and being afraid of intruding upon the vizir's time, I made a motion to depart; but he requested me to remain, and ordered one of his pages to bring another pipe. In the mean time he turned the conversation upon Great Britain; but his inquiries tended more to the satisfaction of curiosity upon trifling subjects, than to the acquisition of knowledge upon those of greater interest; for instance, he asked me if King George could cut off a subject's head, and seemed quite astounded when I assured him that he had no more power than the subject had to cut off his, unless the latter had forfeited his life to the law. He laughed outright when I told him that a member of the royal family or the king himself might be sued in a court of justice. He then asked me how the king procured his revenue, and when I answered from the voluntary imposts of his people, he shook his head, as if he thought he should starve if he had to depend upon so precarious an income. Amongst other topics, of which it was impossible to remember half, he asked me what induced my countrymen to undergo so many hardships and run so many dangers by land and sea for the sake of visiting countries which were devoid of nearly all the comforts of life. In reply I endeavoured to give him some idea of our mode of education and that general cultivation of Greek literature which is apt so strongly to influence the imagination and generate enthusiasm; which impels us to visit the land that nurtured and matured those ancient prodigies of talent, and to contemplate the scenes where so many important historical events took place. The vizir mused for a short time upon what I observed and then said, that he had not himself had the advantage of education. I confess my dissimulation; but I could not help replying that I thought his highness had made a higher

use of his faculties in the study of mankind, and that in England his character was in greater repute on the score of talent, than if he had been dignified with the title of a philosopher. The compliment evidently pleased him, for his eyes brightened and his face assumed a peculiar expression of good humour. I took this opportunity of turning the discourse upon his own warlike achievements, and he related to me several particulars which I have interwoven into the memoir of his life: he seemed to take a pleasure in dwelling upon the early incidents of his eventful history, which probably arose from the satisfaction he now receives at looking down from the height of security upon those periods when he was involved in perils and had scarcely a place where to lay his head. I longed to put a few political questions to him relative to some more recent occurrences; but every oblique attempt was eluded, and direct inquiries were out of the question.

My second pipe was now finished, and when I arose to go Ali no longer detained me: he said he hoped we should not leave Ioannina before his return from Salagora, for I had informed him that the winter being now past and travelling practicable, it was our intention no longer to obtrude ourselves upon his hospitality. Thus ended the longest and most interesting conversation I ever held with this extraordinary character: I took down as many items of it as I could recollect immediately on my arrival at home, but regret that my memory did not serve me to recollect half his observations.

Just about this time we had a sudden change of weather, and winter seemed again anxious to resume its sway: snow appeared upon the summits of the mountains, and for several days the thermometer stood at 46° of Fahrenheit. This melancholy aspect of nature however was transient, and the Grecian sky soon resumed those brilliant tints and that harmonious colouring which during greatest part of the year adds such a charm to the beauty of its scenery.

—— ὅτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται, ὅτέ ποτ' ὄμβρῳ
Δείεται, ὅτε χιὼν ἐπιπίλναται· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰθρη
ΠΕΠΤΑΤΑΙ ΑΝΝΕΦΕΛΘΣ, ΛΕΥΚΗ Δ' ΕΠΙΔΕΔΡΟΜΕΝ ΑΙΓΛΗ.

During this short gloom I occupied myself in taking extracts from certain documents relating to Albania and its capital, which were very kindly submitted to my inspection by several persons of our acquaintance. We afterwards resumed our excursions either alone or in the company of friends, and visited the beautiful monasteries on the borders of the lake, taking provisions with us, and spending the day amidst their shady recesses. The people of Ioannina are very partial to these expeditions, and at many of the convents which we passed, were seen large family parties of men, women and children, reclining indolently under the shelving porticos, enjoying the luxuries of the table, and listening to the discordant tones of a violin or mandoline, or accompanying the instrument in loud strains of nasal melody. These scenes brought strongly to our imagination the picture of ancient times, when the joys of life appeared to centre in similar amusements.

Ὡς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
Ἥμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ·
Ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος κατέδυ, καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν,
Ὧι μὲν κοιμήσαντο κατὰ μέγαρα σκιόεντα*.

Od. κ. 476.

It is to be expected that the habits, manners and customs of a people will always bear a certain resemblance to each other in the early stages of their social existence and in their decline; that is, before refinement, which tends greatly to confound all peculiarities, is far advanced, and when it is almost extinguished. The amusements indeed which engage the minds of the modern Greeks are scarcely exceeded in simplicity by

* Such was even supposed to be the chief amusement of their Gods.

Ὡς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα
Δαίνυντ', οὐδ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐΐσης,
Ὧν μὲν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,
Μουσάων θ' αἳ ἄειδον, ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ·

Od. α. in fin.

those of the heroic ages. The reader will however be astonished to learn, as I was myself to hear, that since our departure, theatrical exhibitions have been displayed at Ioannina under the patronage of the vizir, a temporary theatre being erected, and the whole corps de ballet imported from Corfu: such a scene, I will venture to say, was never exhibited in a Mahometan city since the era of the Hegira. The occasion of all these festivities was the marriage of our young friend Mahmet Pasha to the daughter of a rich bey of Larissa, at which his father Vely was present.

May 4.—On this day we observed a bustle in Ioannina and a great number of monoxyla skimming over the surface of the lake. Upon inquiry we found that a grand festival was to be held on the morrow at the convent of St. George which is situated near the summit of Mount Mitzikeli. On the festival of our national Saint it would have been very unpatriotic in us to have been absent, and we determined to join the throng of pilgrims. Having sent Antonietti forward with our beds and provision we embarked about noon in a caique, with Signore Nicolo for a companion, passed over the lake, and mounted our asses, of which great numbers were ready for hire at the other side: the ascent occupied about two hours, and was sufficiently amusing from the ludicrous scenes exhibited amongst the various parties through the obstinacy of their beasts. The hegumenos with several of his caloyers met us at the gates of the convent, which stands in a rocky recess, probably two thousand feet above the level of the lake below, and immediately under the craggy summits of the mountain, where the snow lay at this time in deep ridges. The best room in the convent was allotted for our reception and the superior did us the honour to sit at table, though his laws did not allow him to partake of our fare. He exulted much when he learned that his tutelary saint was the guardian of our native island, and assured us there was not a better or a more powerful one in the whole calendar. In the evening we sat in the balcony and amused ourselves

in seeing the pilgrims arrive, who deposited their stores in the court-yard, and were accommodated in a long range of low rooms on the north side of the area; the apartments of the monks occupy that on the south, and between them on the eastern side stands the chapel. Fires were lighted in the court to dress the victuals, round which the different parties sat feasting and singing to their discordant instruments: in some places various feats of strength were exhibited, in others the Romaika was danced, groups of women and children were seen scattered about the mountain, and the whole scene was full of interest and animation. Here the Greek character shewed itself in its more light and airy cast, whilst the poor people, raised for a time above the reach of tyranny and forgetting their miseries, gave way to their feelings and indulged in all their native vivacity. At night a lovely moon, which was now in the full, shed her silvery light upon the surrounding scenery, and her rays, which were reflected in the lake below, rendered Ioannina with all the villages and hills around its plain distinctly though faintly visible. We adjourned from the convent to the edge of a noble precipice, a few hundred yards distant, where the mountain rises almost perpendicularly from the water's edge: upon its top Antonietti had pitched our tent in the centre of a large circular threshing-floor (similar to the ancient ἰυτρόχαλος ἀλωὴ) where the honest caloyers tread out their corn by means of horses and oxen. Here we sat to enjoy the luxury of the pipe and to contemplate the delightful prospect, whilst the night breeze threw its plaintive murmurs over the surrounding rocks, and the sounds of distant merriment in the court of the convent broke upon our ears through the general silence. The moon in these delightful climates seems almost to emulate the solar orb in brilliancy, and whilst I viewed her beams playing upon the surface of the water as upon a mirror, throwing into light and shade all the rocks and promontories of the lake, and bringing into full view the fine wavy undulation of Mount Olitzika, I felt that the mighty bard, the glory of Greece and of the human race,

must have painted from nature that noble scene, whose beauties it is scarcely possible to transfuse into any foreign dialect.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er heaven's clear azure spreads her sacred light;
When not a breath disturbs the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercasts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure shed,
And tip with silver ev'ry mountain's head;
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies:
The conscious swains rejoicing in the sight
Eye the blue vault and bless the useful light*.

Il. viii. Pope's Transl.

As the time approached for retiring to rest we returned to the convent; but before we went to bed were induced by the beauty of the scene to stand for a few minutes in the balcony. There we perceived our kaivasi stretched out upon his mat, his head resting upon a hard pillow and his upper garment taken off and thrown over him; for the custom is very general in modern, as it was in ancient times, to sleep under the open portico (ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούπῳ. Od. γ. 399). Mr. Parker, who was in his night-cap and bed-gown, went up to Mustafà and gently awoke him: the sleeper just cast his eyes upon him and turned himself on his pillow with a groan: Mr. Parker then awoke him again, and again Mustafà turned himself and uttered a still deeper groan than before. As he slept with his ataghan and pistols in his belt I cautioned my friend against

* How much more simple and grand is the original of this splendid passage!

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
Φάινετ' ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ,
Ἐκ τ' ἔφανον πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι,
Καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερρήγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,
Πάντα δὲ τ' εἴδεται ἄστρα, γέγηθε δὲ τε φρένα ποιμήν.

interfering any further with his rest and we went to bed. Next day however he appeared unusually dull and melancholy, and continued so for near a week, when Antonietti observing the change, wormed out the secret by dint of intreaties, and learned to his great horror that Mustafà had seen a spectre at the convent, the ghost of the very Gardikiote whom he had cut down with his ataghan at the han of Valiarè. As soon as I knew this I immediately explained the whole circumstance to the poor fellow, and made some excuse for awaking him. He appeared satisfied with the explanation, but said it was not the first time he had seen that fellow, that κεφατὰς of a Gardikiote, and he informed Antonietti that nothing should ever induce him to pay another visit to the convent of St. George.

On the morning after this adventure I arose very early and attended the caloyers in chapel at their orisons. This attention pleased the good fathers, and they sang in their best style. Yet how much did their mummeries diminish the effect of those sensations which the act of adoring the beneficent Author of the universe upon this lofty pinnacle of his own creation, was calculated to inspire! After service, the hegumenos accompanied me to the precipice where our tent was fixed: there we enjoyed the view of Ioannina, with its mountain scenery, illuminated by the rising sun, which had already absorbed the tints of morning in one broad blaze of brilliant light. How animated does the face of nature appear at this time, and how nobly has the bard described it—

> Night wanes, the vapours round the mountain curl'd
> Melt into morn, and light awakes the world.
> Man has another day to swell the past
> And lead him near to little but his last.
> But mighty nature bounds as from her birth;
> The sun is in the heavens, and life on earth;
> Flowers in the valley, splendour in the beam,
> Health on the gale, and freshness in the stream.

The hegumenos, out of pure compliment to his English guest, had brought with him from the convent library, an old Romaic history, containing the life of Saint George. When we were seated in the tent he opened this repository, put on his spectacles, and edified me for the space of nearly two hours with the miraculous feats of that great champion of the Christian faith. I then heard of his undaunted conduct before the Emperor Diocletian in reproving idolatry, of his being struck through the body with a lance by the executioner without injury to the said body, of his walking bare-footed, upon planks studded with nails as if they had been boiled peas, of his remaining unhurt amidst flames, of his destroying a fiery dragon which infested the banks of the Euphrates, and a thousand other miracles, which have rendered his name so illustrious throughout the world. The nasal tones of the hegumenos, aided by my early rising, had lulled me into a gentle slumber, when Mr. Parker and Nicolo arrived, with Antonietti carrying provision for breakfast, and put a stop to the worthy monk's recitation. Having made this early meal in one of the most superb sites that the world can afford, we took a range over the summit of the mountain, and returned to the monastery for attendance upon grand mass, at which time we added our mites, to those of the other pilgrims, in support of this religious establishment.

The Greek monks or caloyers have only one order, which is that of Saint Basil. Their habit is a long cassock of coarse cloth girt round with a belt, a felt or woollen cap, and a black cowl. Their government is, or is intended to be very austere, as they are enjoined chastity, obedience, and abstinence from flesh, during the whole of their lives: bread and fruit is their chief food during greatest part of the year, and at their feasts only do they eat oil, eggs, or fish. Greatest part of their time is occupied in their choirs, in rehearsing the psalter, in singing hymns in honour of the Virgin and their patron saints, and in making their bows

or μετάνοιαι as they are called, which, during the great fasts, every caloyer is obliged to repeat 300 times in the twenty-four hours: as for the great Lent before Easter, they begin it with three days of absolute fasting, not even indulging themselves in the luxuries of bread and water, and on the eves or vigils of feasts, the whole night is nearly taken up in the ceremonies of devotion: according to their rule, they ought to spend the greatest part of every other night within their cells in reading homilies and the lives of saints. Yet even all this severity does not content some superstitious devotees, who enter into a more strict rule, and confine themselves to bread and water, and almost constant watching during the whole of their lives. In the Greek, as in the Latin church, there are lay brothers, who take the habit and adhere to the rule of the order, called μετανοέμενοι or converts, men weary of the vanities of the world, or who wish by penance and mortification to wash away the stain of mortal sins. These undertake the management of domestic affairs, tend the flocks of the convent, and press the wine of which both lay and regular brethren are permitted to partake.

Like all other such institutions, the severities of the monastic order among the Greeks are considerably relaxed; the progress of intellectual knowledge begins to make men ashamed of those follies to which superstition had bound them, but it is long ere reason herself can entirely overthrow the fabric which is propped up by prejudice and habit.

We returned to Ioannina for dinner, and in a few days afterwards, when I had completed my extracts, we began to make preparations for quitting this place which had afforded us so interesting and agreeable a sojourn. Two days were fully occupied in bidding adieu to our numerous friends and acquaintance: on the 10th of May we paid our last visit to the vizir in one of his little tenements near the palace of Vely Pasha, where he was administering *justice*. We staid but a short time, and when we were about to quit for ever on this side the grave, an eminent

personage with whom we had been so long acquainted and by whom we had been treated with so much civility, it was impossible not to feel certain melancholy sensations, in spite of that horror which the knowledge of his crimes and the sight of his tyranny was calculated to inspire. He begged us to carry a letter to General Campbell at Zante, in which he said he had expressed to him the satisfaction he had received from our visit. Having thanked his highness for the hospitality we had met with in his dominions, and recommended Mustafà and Nicolo very earnestly to his favour, we arose and made our obeisance: this he courteously returned by bowing his head and placing his right hand upon his breast; after which we left the apartment and saw him no more.

Being close to the habitation of Mahmet Pasha, we took an affectionate leave of that engaging youth, who desired us to think of him as a friend highly interested in our welfare, and with great cordiality wished us a safe arrival at our native land. We finished our visits with Mouchtar Pasha, to whose youngest son, a fine little fellow about seven years old, we presented a pair of beautiful English pistols, as a slight acknowledgment of the attentions shewn us by his father. Mouchtar gave us a bouyourdee for our journey, in addition to that of the vizir, and promised to send with us through the extent of his possessions a young Albanian in his own service, son of the governor of Paramithia. We spent the evening, which was rather a mournful one, with our kind friends the Messrs. Pouqueville, and then retired to sleep for the last time in Ioannina.

Ancient Gateway at Paramithia.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from Ioannina—Cassopæa—Route to Paramithia—Grecian Spring—Vlakiote Shepherds—Pass of Eleftherochori—Plain of Paramithia—City—Visit from the Primate and Bishop—Ascent to the Castle—Route along the Plain to Glyky—Plutonian Temple—District of Aidonati—San Donato and the Dragon—Monastery of Glyky—Water of the Acheron—Fortress of Glyky and its Albanian Commander—Excursion over the Plain of Phanari—Village of Potamia—River Cocytus—Convent of St. George—Monastery of St. John, on the Site of the ancient Necyomantéum—Greek Papas—Ruins of Cichyrus or Ephyre in the District Elaiatis—Theseus and Pirithous—Acherusian Lake—Malaria of the Plain—Conjectures on its Mythology—Ancient City of Buchetium—Return to Glyky—Sleep under the Tent, surrounded by Albanian Palikars—Fine Night-scene—Poetical Address to the Acheron—Curious Dream of the Author's—Ascent up the Pass of Glyky—Arrival at the Vizir's great Fortress of Kiaffa—Salute from the Fort—Scenery described—Adventure of the Author—Suicide committed by an Albanian Palikar—Ceremonies before Interment—Ascent to the highest Summit of the Suliot Mountains—Grand Panoramic View.

MAY 11.—An early hour in the morning was fixed upon for our departure; but so long a time was occupied in arranging our affairs, in receiving visits, and in distributing appropriate tokens of gratitude amongst our friends and hosts, that it was near noon before the cavalcade could be put in motion. At length notice was given that all was ready: we mounted our horses and made our way with some difficulty through the crowds that lined the court and adjoining streets to witness the procession, which consisted of ten men and at least double that number of horses. Our first stage was to Dramisus by the road which I have before described. We were accompanied thus far by Mr. Cerbere, a young Frenchman, who had arrived from Corfu on a visit to Mr. Pouqueville, and was desirous of inspecting the ruins of Cassopæa. The evening was delightful, and we retraced with pleasure the remains of this venerable Epirotic city. In addition to my former account I have very little to add, except that the walls of its fortress are from eleven to twelve feet in thickness, whilst those of the lower city appear to have been constructed only of a single stone, and could not have been more than two feet broad in the widest part. We observed a large piece of defaced sculpture lying upon the ground near some recent excavations; it represented a Triton in bas-relief, but the style of execution was indifferent. Upon a further consideration of this locality, I have my doubts whether it may not have been the site of Passeron*, one of the most celebrated cities of Epirus, where it was customary for the kings of Molossis to take a solemn oath, and exact one in return from their people; the former that they would govern, and the latter that they would defend the state according to the prescription of the laws: this was done after sacrifices to the Martial Jupiter; and that stupendous theatre which still exists may have

* Ἐιώθεισαν οἱ Βασιλεῖς, ἐν Πασσαρώνι χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες, ὁρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὁρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλέιαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τὰς νόμους. Plut. in Vit. Pyrrhi.

been appropriated to the solemn ceremony. I give this however as mere matter of conjecture.

We slept at Dramisus; but though we changed our cottage we did not escape those indefatigable torturers which had destroyed our rest in a former excursion. On the morrow we parted with our companion and took the road to Paramithia, proceeding at first in a northerly direction till we turned round the extremity of Mount Olitzika towards the west, in which course we kept generally for the next six hours. Our route during this time lay through the sinuosities of contiguous valleys, watered by transparent streams, shaded with evergreens and thickets of beautiful shrubs, amidst which a thousand nightingales made the air resound with their sweet notes. It was here and in other parts of this excursion that I felt to the full those ecstatic sensations which a Grecian spring, to which no description can do justice, is capable of inspiring; when a balmy softness and serenity pervade the atmosphere, when the richest tints are painted on the cloudless sky, when every valley and plain is clothed in a deep luxuriant verdure, superior even to that which our own island boasts, when every grove is vocal with the melody of feathered songsters, when a thousand flowers dye the surface of the earth and shed a perfume through the air, when the bright splendour of the morning sun animates the soul of man, and the coolest shades of evening refresh him after his daily toil. Nurtured as they were amidst such scenes, breathing such an air, and inspired with such sensations, who can wonder at that delicacy of taste, that vigour of imagination, that tenderness of sentiment, that conception of the beautiful which distinguished the sons of Greece, when Greece was free?

In these valleys we met many parties of Vlakiote shepherds driving their flocks and herds from the great plains of Thesprotia, to which they had emigrated from the colder regions of Zagori and the Pindus mountains, for the sake of pasture during the severity of winter. The vizir possesses immense tracts of land in these parts, and to him they

pay a certain price for every head of cattle which they turn into his pastures. The wives and daughters of these people rode upon asses and mules, whilst the sons assisted their fathers in driving the cattle; the infants were packed up in panniers together with the scanty articles of household furniture, and carried on the backs of horses, being closed up in these receptacles till their heads only could be seen. In about seven hours we arrived at the village of Eleftherochori on the top of a rugged defile at the northern extremity of the Cassopæan mountains of Suli. At this spot many sanguinary contests took place between Ali Pasha and the people of Paramithia: the conqueror has built a small fortress to defend the pass. The sun was setting when we began to descend through this chasm into the great plain of Paramithia, which extended before us its magnificent scenery: we could count five undulating ridges of mountains, all rising one beyond the other towards the Adriatic coast and tinged with the colours of the setting sun. Emerging from the narrow part of this defile we continued along the mountain path on our left and soon saw the castle of Paramithia hanging as it were on a vast height above the city, which lies supine upon the side of a large mountain.

Paramithia is considerable in size and contains many good houses; a few of these on the outskirts had not yet recovered from the effects of assault in the wars with Ali. Almost all the habitations are separate and shaded by luxuriant plane-trees, beneath which there are more fountains of delicious water than I ever saw in any town: this, added to the charming scenery which its site commands, made me think I should prefer it as a place of residence to any other part of Epirus. To what ancient city Paramithia has succeeded it is now difficult to determine; Pandosia, Gitanæ, and Batiæ, all put in their claims; those of the last-mentioned place seem generally allowed, probably because its name bears the nearest resemblance to the modern appellation. There can be no doubt but that an ancient city did once occupy this site, both from the remains of Hellenic building ob-

servable in the fortress and the number of beautiful bronze statues which have been discovered here in excavations, several of which are very finely engraved and illustrated in the Specimens of Ancient Sculpture published by the Society of Dilettanti*. We were conducted to an excellent lodging by the governor's son, who then left us and proceeded to the dwelling of his father. Next morning, whilst we were at breakfast, we received a visit from two great personages, the Greek Primate and the Bishop of Paramithia. The latter was very chatty, and as he sat cross-legged upon the floor beside our table, gave us a complete history of his diocese, and described the manners of the people before the vizir's conquest of the country, as barbarous and savage to the greatest degree; not a person of any tribe or any religion daring to approach this inhospitable tract, where life was held so cheap that the barbarians frequently used to fire upon each other when in want of employment against foreigners. We expressed a desire of proceeding a day's journey northward of this plain to visit some ruins upon the banks of the Thyamis, which have been supposed to belong to the ancient Pandosia; but were deterred from this plan by the representation of our visiters, who informed us that the whole tract of that country was encircled by a cordon of troops, on account of the plague, and that if we even approached it, a long quarantine would await us at our return. We therefore contented ourselves with paying a visit to the governor and inspecting the fine fortress of Paramithia. For this purpose we took horses and employed full half an hour in the ascent up these steep and rugged acclivities. We passed many large isolated houses, surrounded with gardens, and having only loop-holes, instead of windows, from whence the musketry of their defenders might be most advantageously directed. We observed also a huge fragment of calcareous rock at the north end of the town, which had been de-

tached this very winter from an overhanging precipice: it had overwhelmed two houses and killed several persons in its fall. At no great distance from this spot stood the ruined mansion of the celebrated Pronio Agà, one of the greatest warriors which this country ever produced.

The fortress is very extensive and surrounded by an outer wall, in which are substructions of ancient masonry; but this is much more apparent near a gateway at the south-east angle, of which a representation is given at the head of the chapter. The foundations of many houses and other buildings within its circuit shew that probably the whole city, or at least a considerable portion of it, once stood in this quarter: the view from hence is magnificent, the height being probably a thousand feet above the level of the plain. After having smoked a pipe with the governor, who received us civilly, and seemed much pleased at the opportunity we had given him of seeing his son, we returned into the town, passing through the bazar, which is handsome and spacious, cooled by delicious fountains and shaded by umbrageous platani; from thence we descended through gardens and orchards at the southern extremity into the plain, and proceeded on our route towards Suli.

We were delighted with the continual prospect of towns and villages peeping out of their green mantle of cypresses and oriental planes which adorn this mountain scenery. In about four hours we arrived at the district of Phanari, comprising that grand sweep which the plain makes towards the S. W. up to the coast of the Mediterranean: its level is lower than the plain of Paramithia, and distinctly marked by a moderately high boundary like a shelving shore; this together with its perfectly even surface, unbroken by a single undulation of ground, seems to confirm the tradition that it was overflowed by the sea in the remote ages of antiquity. After riding half an hour and then turning to the left we were astonished by a view of the dark rocks of Suli and the defile of the Acheron: but no pen can do justice to this scenery!

It seemed as if we were about to penetrate into Tartarus itself and the awful recesses of the Plutonian realms; ἵν' Ἄδης χωρὶς ἥκισται θεῶν· The magnificence of this scene is but imperfectly represented in the annexed plate; I was unable to take much more than the outline, and it required the talents of a professed artist to do justice to all its parts: if that friend who has kindly embellished this sketch had been present to take it originally, the reader would have gained a much truer impression of the mountains of the Acheron. This river flows in a fine curve through the plain after it has left the rocky channel, which during successive ages it has worn through this terrific chasm, amidst the crags of which its hoarse murmurs are distinctly heard. Proceeding a little further we came to the ruins of a Greek monastery which had been destroyed during the Suliot wars: it stood on the very brink of the Acheron and within the precincts of an ancient temple: this was evident from a considerable number of columns, some of which lay scattered on the ground, whilst others, though broken, still rested upon their bases: it seemed as if the temple itself had been at some time or other repaired or enlarged; for though many of the pillars were of antique construction and the granite of which they were made was in a state of decomposition, others were marble, of smaller dimensions, and a more modern form. Whilst we were debating with ourselves whether these fragments were ever included in one of Pluto's Acherusian temples, or whether we might not be standing upon the site of that Pandosia which with the fatal Acheron Alexander king of Epirus thought he was commanded by the oracle to avoid, a party of Albanian peasants came up, of whom we inquired the name of the place where we stood, and heard with no little surprise that it was called Aidonati. This appeared to confirm our conjectures—for Aidoneus or Pluto, a king of the Molossi, was fabled to have carried off Proserpine, the beautiful daughter of Ceres, from Sicily to this very region, where Theseus and Pirithous were afterwards confined, when they attempted to deprive him of his prize.

The name of Aidonati therefore preserved apparently from this tradition afforded grounds for the supposition that this was the Temple of the God of Hell. Anxious however to prevent mistakes I questioned our Albanians upon the reason of the appellation, and was rather disconcerted at hearing it proceeded from an old Greek saint, who was held in great veneration, called San Donato, (Ἅγιος Δονάτος) and who was the patron of the ruined monastery which we beheld. This confounded all our reasonings upon the subject till I recollected that the devil had been converted into a saint in Sicily*, and it was possible the Greek church might not wish to be behind her sister in paying a similar compliment to so great a personage, at the same time a story concerning this Saint Donato flashed across my mind, which the Bishop of Paramithia had related to us in our conference during the breakfast yesterday. "At a little distance from the village of Glyky," said that prelate with great gravity, "runs a small rivulet which supplied the inhabitants of the district with excellent water, until a fierce dragon, with fiery eyes and poisonous breath, taking up his residence at its source infected the stream to such a degree that all who drank of it immediately perished, insomuch that the country became almost depopulated. In this extremity an ancient hermit, who for his extreme sanctity was reverenced as a saint under the title of San Donato, mounted his ass, and armed only with an osier twig undertook an expedition against the formidable monster. The dragon, as soon as he espied his antagonist made furiously at him, rolling volumes of flame and smoke from his nostrils: then twisting his tail about the legs of the ass he was upon the point of throwing both animal and rider to the ground, when the holy man call-

* Meletius in his account of Paramithia calls it Κάστρον τῶ Ἁγίῳ Δονάτῳ, τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ Παραμυθία λέγεται, ἀι ὑπὸ τῶν Τάρκων Αἴδωνὰ, ἡ ὁποία πρότερον Γλυκὺ ἐκαλειτο· (Mel. Geog. p. 317.) where he is certainly mistaken, for Αἴδωνὰ or Αἴδονάτι is a district in which Glyky is situated at the bottom of the rocks of Suli, and Paramithia never was called by either name, as I could learn in all the inquiries I made at the place; but Meletius makes the river Acheron run from the heights of Paramithia, where no river flows at all, and this has led him into the error.

ing aloud upon the name of the Panaghia, smote the beast on the head with his osier twig and killed him on the spot: then advancing to the stream where a concourse of people had collected together, he took up some water in his hand, and drinking it in their presence, cried glyky, glyky (γλυκὺ, γλυκὺ), 'it is sweet, it is sweet;' from which action the village of Glyky at the bottom of the Acherontian chasm is said to derive its name. A consideration of all these circumstances served to confirm us in our original conjecture; for in this old monastic tradition we still kept sight of Aidoneus, or Pluto, or Satan, in the form of the old serpent, whose poisonous breath in the rites of paganism infected with deadly venom the water of life, until its sweetness and salubrity was restored by the holy saints and martyrs of the Christian faith. We concluded therefore that one of these pious men having established a monastery upon the ruins of the pagan temple, had not given, but received his name from the district in which it was situated, a name which had descended through all the different ages of superstition down to the present time, from that Aidoneus, who, in the very district from which he carried off the daughter of Ceres, is commemorated in a similar manner; for there exists at this day a small town in the vicinity of Enna which bears the appellation of Aidone*.

From the ruins we advanced to a strong fort built by the vizir about half a mile distant from the village, where we were received with great civility by the Albanian governor, a man who had been engaged in the seventeen years war of Suli, and who amused us with many interesting events relating to that eventful history. At dinner we drank the waters of the Acheron, which have either been much misrepresented, or if they ever were bitter have entirely changed their nature, being now extremely cool and agreeable to the taste. Though we were much fatigued by yesterday's journey, not one of the party

* Vid. D'Orville, Sic. p. 160.

could obtain the least sleep during the night, owing to myriads of vermin which haunt every Albanian dwelling, but more especially the forts and quarters of the soldiery. We therefore rose before the sun and pitched our tent amongst the ruins of the Plutonian temple upon the bank of the river. After breakfast we set out to make an excursion through the plain of Phanari, in search of the famed Acherusian Lake, from whence we knew we could not be far distant by the description of Thucydides, which also plainly designates the relative situation of the Acheron and Thyamis, by many travellers and geographers so strangely confounded.—His words are these:—Ὁρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος γῆς· ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη· ἔξεισι δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει, ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμὸς ὁρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτιδα καὶ Κεστρίνην ὧν ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. (Lib. i. cap. 46.)

Descending for a short distance along the right bank of the Acheron we left it where it makes a bend to the S. W. and soon arrived at the village of Potamià, more rude and miserable in appearance than one of Otaheité or New Zealand. The best of its houses are constructed of hurdles, one side of which is left open to the inclemency of the seasons and the sight of passengers, where the inmates may be seen huddled together with their pigs and other domestic animals almost in a state of nudity. Some of their huts actually consist only of branches of trees half cut through, which being turned down and fastened to the ground form a kind of tent, to which the trunk of the tree serves as a pole, but in which one would suppose it impossible for human beings to exist. Notwithstanding all this apparent misery the village had a curious and picturesque appearance, being very large and intersected with numerous green alleys covered with vines, shaded by trees of every description, and adorned with a vast quantity of flowers for the nourishment of bees, which every family appeared to cultivate. Their hives were of the most simple construction, con-

sisting merely of hollow cylindrical pieces of wood placed upon a bench, and covered at the top with a tile. Leaving Potamià we passed over a marsh or bog formed by the overflowing of the river Vavà, which is probably the Cocytus of antiquity*. It flows from below the mountains of Margariti, opposite Paramithia, and after skirting the opposite side of the plain empties itself into the Acheron at a small distance from its mouth below the village of Tcheuknides. Having passed this marsh, not without some danger of suffocation, we found in the midst of a beautiful grove, not a palaiò-castro as we had been led to expect, but an ancient Greek church and the remains of a monastery dedicated to St. George: it was built probably during the troublesome times of the Lower Empire, like many of our English convents, in this inaccessible situation, for the sake of security. From hence we coiled over the roots of the Tzamouriot hills to a lake whose superfluous waters are carried off by a catabothron or subterranean channel into the great marsh near Porto Phanari; but this we soon perceived was not the lake of which we were in search; we therefore made towards a high projecting point of land, at the extremity of which, overlooking the plain, stands the deserted monastery of St. John, built within the peribolus of an ancient Greek temple of very fine Cyclopean masonry†. The view from hence of the plain, with its majestic circle of mountains, of Porto Phanari and the Ionian Sea interspersed with islands is extremely beautiful. Nothing of the monastery is preserved but its chapel; at the altar we observed several pairs of crutches left there by credulous devotees, who ascribed the cure of their mala-

* Pausanias, in his description of the Acheron, intimates that the Cocytus also flows in the same plain—"πρὸς δὲ τῇ κικυρῳ λίμνη τε ἔστιν Ἀχερουσία καλουμένη, καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων ῥεῖ δε καὶ Κωκύτος ὕδωρ ἀνερπέσταον," and no other river except the Acheron, now called the ποτάμι τῦ Σᾶλι, and the Vavà is to be discovered in the Phanari. The very appellation Vavà (βαβὰ), which is an expression of grief or aversion, seems to strengthen the conjecture, and not only this, but the water of the Vavà exactly coincides with the expression ὕδωρ ἀνερπέσταον, for it flows slowly over a deep muddy soil, imbibing noxious qualities from innumerable weeds upon its banks, and forms greatest part of the Malaria of the plain.

† The specimen given in vol. i. p. 214, is taken from this peribolus.

dies to the miraculous intervention of the saint. Probably this very spot on which we stood was the great Necyomantéum, or place for evocation of the dead, so celebrated in the early periods of Grecian history; for it is close to Cichyrus, and Cichyrus was the very capital of Aidoneus. Herodotus informs us that it stood amongst the Thesprotians on the banks of Acheron, and at the same time relates a curious story of Periander tyrant of Corinth, who sent hither to consult the shade of his wife Melissa*. Pausanias also makes mention of it, and says that the adventure of Orpheus was referred by some to a journey which the poet made to this oracular shrine for evoking the spirit of Eurydice.

A papas or priest, who was well acquainted with the topography of the place, pointed out to us the real situation of the Acherusian Lake, which appeared at this distance like a small copse of underwood: he offered at the same time to conduct us thither by the nearest route, as the roads along this part of the Phanari are difficult and dangerous, on account of numerous bogs and marshes. Before we proceeded with our intelligent guide in this direction, we accompanied him to a very ancient palaiò-castro, about half a mile distant behind the convent, the walls of which, though for the most part they lie in a confused mass of ruin, may be distinctly traced in a circular figure; those parts which remain perfect exhibiting a specimen of masonry apparently more rude even than Tiryns itself, though the blocks used in the construction are not of so large dimensions. The annexed sketch will give the reader some idea of their antiquity.

* Herod. lib. v. c. 92. *πέμψαντι γὰρ οἱ ἐς Θεσπρωτὸς ἐπ' Ἀχέροντα ποταμὸν ἀγγέλους ἐπὶ τὸ Νεκυομαντήϊον*, &c. Bœot. c. xxx. 3.

Ancient Cyclopéan Wall at Cichyrus or Ephyre.

I suppose this to have been the ancient city of Cichyrus or Ephyre, not only from the situation assigned to it by Thucydides in the passage above quoted, but from one of Strabo, which on several accounts is worthy of insertion:

Ἔπειτα ἄκρα Χειμέριον καὶ Γλυκὺς λιμὴν, εἰς ὃν ἐμβάλλει ὁ Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς, ῥέων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης, καὶ δεχόμενος πλείους ποταμοὺς ὥστε καὶ γλυκαίνειν τὸν κόλπον· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις πλησίον· Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου μὲν τοῦ κόλπου Κίχυρος, ἡ πρότερον Εφύρα, πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ Βυθρωτὸν ἡ Φοινίκη· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς Κιχύρου πολίχνιον Βυχάτιον Κασσωπαίων, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ὄν καὶ Ελάτρια, καὶ Πανδοσια, καὶ Βάτιαι ἐν μεσογαίᾳ. (L. vii. p. 324.)

The district anciently called Elaiatis, from the olive trees it produced, and in which Ephyre was situated, is still noted for the excellence of that plant which confers so many benefits upon the human race. The city was anciently celebrated for its poisons, in search of which Ulysses is brought here by Homer. It is said to have been taken and its king Phileus slain by Hercules (Od. α 259, β. 328. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 281), and within its walls, according to Pausanias, Theseus and Pirithous were kept as prisoners of war by King Aidoneus, after the failure of their attempt to carry off the beauteous Proserpine. Pirithous died in confinement; but Theseus was liberated at the intercession of Hercules, probably in return for some service performed, or in token of hospitality, according to a custom still prevalent in these semi-barbarous countries.

Returning to the monastery we descended into the plain, and having

crossed the Cocytus by a lofty stone bridge, arrived at length upon the borders of the Acherusian Lake. Its site is only to be discovered by the willows and alders, intermingled with reeds and all sorts of aquatic plants, which grow to a great height and almost entirely choke up the water. Yet there are many channels in this morass through which the peasants pass in boats for the purpose of cutting reeds and faggots, catching eels of an immense size, and taking the eggs or young of wild fowl. Its length from the spot where it absorbs the waters of the Acheron till it again disgorges them is nearly two miles. It emits no pestilential vapour, although the malaria in all parts of the plain of Phanari is very abundant, from the great accumulation of vegetable matter and stagnant water: its destructive effects are perceptible in the sallow and emaciated countenances of the surrounding peasantry. Hence probably it was that the ancients, ignorant of the natural causes of disease, transferred the miasmata of the plain to the Plutonian Lake, and represented it as emitting a deadly effluvia.

It has been made a subject of discussion how this lake received its appellation, as well as the Acheron and Cocytus, or how this particular district became celebrated for the residence of Pluto and Charon, and for other circumstances intimately connected with Grecian fable. The general conclusion has been that the early Greeks established these topographical situations of the infernal rivers and the mansions of the dead on the utmost verge of civilized Europe, and, as population increased, constantly placed them further westward "πρὸς ἀκτὰν ἑσπέρας ϑεῦ," that being the direction in which civilization extended itself. But on this point I rather incline to the opinion of Mr. Bryant, who supposes that the Cuthite or Ammonian colonists in the different places to which they emigrated established not only the idolatrous rites but the appellations also of various districts of the Memphian plains, those regions so fertile in all the gloomy horrors of Egyptian superstition. Hence it is that we find an Acherusia in Pontus, from whence Hercules was supposed to have brought up Cerberus from the shades below:

(Diod. Sic. lib. xiv.) an Acheron in Apulia, where Alexander King of Epirus lost his life through the ambiguity of an oracle: an Avernus and Cocytus on the Campanian shores: an Acheron in Elis, mentioned by Strabo, connected with the worship of Pluto, Ceres, and Proserpine, and another celebrated by Apollonius Rhodius, in the territory of the Mariandyni. The region around the catacombs of Egypt was called the Acherusian or Acheronian plain*: here the bodies of kings and princes were deposited in superb mausoleums; here also stood temples in which the rites of fire-worship were exercised, expiatory sacrifices performed, and judgment passed upon the characters of the deceased. As these dark and silent abodes were inviolable, and the daring intruder would have met with certain punishment, the Egyptians were anxious to be entombed there, and it became a general custom to transport the bodies of their friends to this burial place; for which purpose it was necessary to pass over the lakes and canals which separated it from Memphis, which were cut originally to convey materials for the construction of that ancient city, and received their names from the temples on their banks. Hence arose the notion of the infernal rivers, of the judgment of Minos and Rhadamanthus, and of Charon's fee†, which was a remuneration paid to the ferryman of a temple on the brink of a canal, and which, small as it was, must have augmented greatly the revenue of the priests. The beauty of the plains beyond the catacombs, intersected by canals which covered them with luxuriant foliage and eternal verdure, gave rise to the Elysian fields and the mansions of the blessed. Orpheus, Homer, and the early poets of Greece, conversant as they were with the ceremonies of Egypt, and acquainted with its topo-

* Diodorus Sic. lib. i.

The Egyptian Acheron is also mentioned in some ancient Sibylline verses quoted by Clem. Alexand. Cohort. p. 44.

† This fee amongst the Greeks was an obolus put into the mouth of the deceased. Ὥστε ἐπειδάν τις ἀποθάνῃ τῶν οἰκείων, πρῶτα μὲν φέροντες ὀβολὸν ἐς τὸ στόμα κατέθηκαν αὐτῷ μισθὸν τῷ πορθμεῖ τῆς ναυτιλίας γενησομένον. (Luc. Dial. de Luctu.)

graphy, immortalized both in their noble poetry, and the Ammonian colonists, addicted to the religion of their native country, instituted similar rites and attached similar names to certain situations in the regions to which they emigrated.

That an Ammonian colony of Cyclopes settled in Thesprotia seems evident from the very ancient Cyclopéan walls which we discovered in the neighbourhood; and, as was the case at Hermione, which we know to have been a Cyclopéan foundation and to have contained an Acherusian lake with a temple dedicated to Pluto, (Pausan. l. ii. c. 35.) so it is probable that they built here a temple to the same God (that is, to Achor-on, the sun, under the title of Orcus or Pluto) and instituted the rites of fire-worship in his honour*. These subjects however I am very ready to confess are far beyond my comprehension, and their elucidation requires an extensive knowledge of Oriental languages and mythology.

Leaving the Acherusian lake we bent our steps towards the ruins of Buchetium, which are about one mile distant: they are situated upon a beautiful conical rock near the right bank of the Acheron, and the Cyclopéan walls, constructed with admirable exactitude in the second style of ancient masonry, still remain in a high state of preservation: they have served in many places for the substruction of more modern ramparts built by the Catalans or some other tribes who have possessed the country; "mean reparations upon mighty ruins." In some parts this ancient work remains to the height of ten or fifteen feet, containing several fine towers and gateways. Two regular lines encircle the hill, one at the bottom and another near the top, which latter encloses also a fort or citadel: at the bottom, on the south side, run out some strong transverse lines, between which the modern village stands,

* The learned reader is desired to take notice that the wife of Periander, whose shade that tyrant sent to invoke in the Acherontian Necyomantéum was named *Melissa;* and he is referred to vol. i. p. 377 of this work for some elucidation of this circumstance, which tends to strengthen the conjectures that have been here formed respecting the origin of these rites and ceremonies and names.

called Castri, the inhabitants of which having perhaps never seen a Frank before, flocked around us in great numbers and annoyed us much by their curiosity.

I have no doubt but that this city is the ancient Buchetium, from the situation assigned it, near to Ephyre, by Strabo in the passage above quoted, as well as from its appearance, which seems to have been the origin of its appellation. The curious and effectual manner of its fortifications admirably adapted it as a place of security for the confinement of prisoners: its utility in this point of view seems to have struck the Epirotian allies of the Roman consul, M. Fulvius Nobilior, who in the first instance thought of sending hither some Ætolian ambassadors whom they had captured near the island of Cephalenia, though they afterwards immured them in the fortress of Charadra*. Perhaps a better specimen of ancient military architecture no where exists than that which this castellated hill exhibits: it is picturesque in the highest degree, and is surrounded by four other conical mounds embellished with Albanian villages, and rising like isolated rocks above the level surface of a calm sea: there can be no doubt but that the salt waves once beat against them: at that time what a magnificent scene must this inland gulf, surrounded by its mountain barriers, have displayed!

From hence our road lay chiefly along the banks of the Acheron which here becomes a fine pellucid river of no contemptible magnitude. The shades of night closed around us long before we arrived at our tent, which being lighted up by lamps within, not only served as a beacon to direct us in our path, but gave us comfortable assurance of an excellent meal after the fatigues of the day. Upon our arrival we were not disappointed. Antonietti had well employed his talents in the culinary art, and the wine of Paramithia is excellent. The old governor, who accepted our invitation to dinner, forgot the rigid rules of

* See Polybius (lib. xxvii. c. 9) who calls it Buchetum.

Mahometanism when he tasted it, and we sat to a late hour discussing the battles of Suli and the glory of Ali Pasha. As we expressed our intention of sleeping under the tent, the commandant ordered out all the garrison, which consisted of about sixty Albanians, directing them to kindle several large fires, and bivouac upon the spot; intimating at the same time that if the least harm should happen to us the vizir would put every soul of them to death. In this manner we went to rest surrounded by those wild mountaineers, and lulled by the murmurs of the Acherontian waves. As the novelty of this situation kept me some time awake, I arose from my bed and seated myself at the door of the tent, to contemplate a scene so full of interest. The night was calm and tranquil, the air so clear, and the stars so bright, that I could easily discern the grand broken outline of the Suliot hills, with their craggy precipices and castellated forts: the lower regions were involved in deepest gloom, except where the broad stream of Acheron reflected the red glare of our Albanian watch-fires: these rendered a considerable space around the tent as bright as day, including the prostrate columns of the Plutonian temple and the tottering walls of San Donato, on which were delineated the portraits of ancient saints and martyrs, and other subjects taken from superstition's legends. Not the least interesting objects in the scene were the Albanian guards, stretched upon the bare ground, with ataghans and pistols in their belts, and sheltered from the dews of night by their thick fleecy capotes: couched at their feet lay a great number of large Molossian dogs, their faithful companions both in peace and war.

In this calm of nature and silence of the night my mind strayed back to scenes of historic interest, and cast a retrospective glance over the strange events which had occurred upon this theatre during the successive ages of mankind. It was a spot which Mythology had selected as the scene of her wildest fantasies, and in the innermost recesses of these mountains Ambition's cruel satellites had forced the last holds of Gre-

cian Liberty. Deeply impressed with the fatal effects of tyranny and the still more degrading vassalage to which superstition subjects her votaries, I took up my journal and threw together a few thoughts by way of poetical address to the Acheron, which was flowing near my feet: the reader will probably pardon its insertion, since I have not before obtruded any similar effusions upon his notice.

The sun is set, and solemn silence reigns
Above, around, on Acherusia's plains;
Save where on Suliot hills the watch-dogs bay
Some tawny robber prowling for his prey,
Or distant Acheron from rock to rock
Bounds with impetuous force and thundering shock.
Hail Acheron! thou dark mysterious stream!
Hail! tho' thy terrors like a frightful dream
Be vanish'd: tho' the fearless eagle soar
In circling flight around th' Aornian shore,
And scare with rapid lightnings of his eye
The tender broods that in thy coverts lie:
Tho' thy transparent waves no longer glide
Beneath the granite temple's lofty pride;
Nor the black victim with his reeking blood
Stain the bright surface of that crystal flood,
Which plunging headlong to Tartarean night
Sprang back in horror to the realms of light,
Still hail immortal stream! thy mystic name
Shines in the records of Hellenic fame:
And he whose soul the flame of genius fires,
Whom rapture loves, or solemn thought inspires,
On the green margin of thy waves reclin'd
May tune to meditation sweet his mind,
Or 'mid thy sounding rocks and roaring flood,
Dark Suli's crags and Kiaffa's night of wood,
From Fancy's treasure steal ideal bliss,
And call thy spirits from their dark abyss,
While to Imagination's mirror true
Dim shadows of past ages start to view;
Ages that toil'd to Glory's height sublime,
Then floated downward on the stream of time;

That noiseless stream which on its current bears
All human joys and grandeur, woes and cares;
Still rolling onward to a shoreless sea,
The boundless ocean of Eternity.

When I retired to rest, the objects which had employed my waking thoughts still continued to occupy my dreams, and a strange species of pantomimic scenery presented itself to my imagination, wherein Pluto and Proserpine, Hercules, Theseus, and Pirithous, Roman conquerors and Greek priests, Ali Pasha and San Dohato, with Cerberus and the old Dragon, all played conspicuous characters. These personages, after various evolutions, were collected together, as I thought, upon the steepest crags of Suli, where the rock suddenly opening and vomiting forth a tremendous flame, they were all swallowed up in the unfathomable abyss. I awoke with horror, and found that the sun had been a long time above the horizon and was darting his fervid rays upon the tent immediately over my head. We now arose and prepared for our ascent up the defile. After bidding adieu to our worthy host, and distributing a present among the garrison, who continued to pay us the compliment of firing off their pistols till we were out of sight, we advanced almost as far as the village of Glyky, then crossed the Acheron by a ford, and soon entered into the vast and gloomy chasm of the Cassopæan mountains. The scenery increased in grandeur as we proceeded, and the pass was bordered on each side by perpendicular rocks, broken into every form of wild magnificence: through these some terrible convulsion of nature had opened a passage for the Acheron, whose waters thundering along their deep and rocky bed, formed, as they fell from crag to crag, a tumultuous kind of melody, admirably in unison with the scene. As the notes of a bugle-horn, which we blew at intervals during our ascent, were reverberated in long protracted echoes among the cavities of the defile, I almost expected to see a spectre starting from the dark abyss, and addressing us in the words of the poet:

Adsum atque advenio Acheronte vix via alta atque ardua
Per speluncas saxeis structas asperis pendentibus
Maxumis; ubi rigida constat crassa caligo Inferûm,
Unde animæ excitantur obscura umbra aperto ostio
Alti Acherontis.

Ennii fr. Cic. T. Q. l. i. 16.

In two hours we arrived at the bottom of the huge precipice of Kiaffa, whose summits are crowned by the grand serai and forts of the pasha. Here the deep valley of the Acheron takes a bend to the right, and a tributary stream flows through a similar chasm on the left, from the Paramithian district: we recrossed the river and began to ascend a narrow winding path cut on the side of precipices, so narrow as not to admit two persons to ride abreast: a very small number of men might here stop the advance of an army. In less than half an hour we arrived in sight of Kiaffa, which was one of the four principal towns in the Suliot district, and at a greater distance on the left perceived Kako-Suli itself, the capital of the republic, now almost entirely reduced to ruins; then passing under the fort of Kunghi, which the monk Samuel blew up into the air by setting fire to the magazine, we came under the heights and in view of the grand serai and fortress: its battlements were lined with Albanian troops, who upon our appearance saluted us with a discharge of cannon and a feu de joie of small arms, the echo of which among the surrounding rocks and mountains was uncommonly fine. Leaving the deserted village of Kiaffa on the left we ascended by a narrow steep path to the castle gate, where we were received with another discharge of fire-arms and conducted by the governor's son, in the absence of his father, to the state apartments, which had been prepared for our reception, the commander of the fort at Glyky having sent forward an express the day before to give notice of our visit.

The singular and striking features of the wild mountain scenery around, kept us for a time almost breathless with astonishment: its huge broken masses, rocks, precipices, and chasms, appeared like the

ruins of a disjointed world, or like that picture of poetic confusion where Pelion, Ossa and Olympus are heaped upon each other by the arms of Titanic monsters. Strongly impressed with the novelty and sublimity of the view I endeavoured to delineate it from the window of the fortress at which we were seated: I got the outline correct, though I can lay but little claim to the beautiful representation of this curious district given in the annexed plate*; the reader will there observe that the highest mountains form the eastern barrier of the Paramithian plain. The ruined village reclining upon the height beneath them is the unfortunate Kako-Suli, once the capital of this republic; that which is partly seen in the vale below the castle is Kiaffa; and the tower in front which crowns a conical hill between the castle and Kako-Suli, is the fort of Aghia Paraskevì upon the top of Kunghi. After dinner, as the evening was delightful, I took a lonely walk in the environs of the castle, listening to the waving of the woods and distant murmurs of the Acheron amidst these impressive solitudes: as I went along connecting their scenes with objects of classical celebrity and peopling them with the imaginary personages of poetic fable, my eye was struck with something white near the path, which upon inspection I discovered to be several bones which had once belonged to a human skeleton: being in a musing humour I sat down upon the spot, whilst my thoughts turned to the calamities of this afflicted country and the heroic efforts made by those among her valiant sons of whom the skeleton before me might have been one: under this impression I covered it with stones and some green turf which I cut from the bank with my travelling sabre, repeating over it as the most appropriate requiem, those beautiful lines of our pathetic bard:

O for the death of those
Who for their country die!
Sink on her bosom to repose
And triumph where they lie!

* The fine finish of this is due to the pencil of Mr. Cockerell.

Unfortunate Suliots! the time may yet arrive when your example shall animate the great and good in the glorious contest for Liberty; when the association of your martial deeds shall shed an interest over these Acherontian rocks far above that which their connexion with a fabulous mythology can bestow; when the regenerated Muse of Greece shall deck in all the grace of language and imagery of fancy, those incidents which these pages have recorded in the plain garb of historical narration.

I extended my walk so far that it was nearly dark before I returned to the castle; there I found Mr. Parker with several of its inmates enjoying his pipe before an excellent fire, which the cold night air in this lofty mountainous region rendered almost indispensable. A fine young Albanian palikar gave us several animating descriptions of the Suliot contests, and promised next morning to point out the places where they occurred. When the evening was somewhat advanced our beds were spread out upon the splendid cushions of the divan and we retired to rest.

May 15.—Anxious to make my excursions as extensive as possible over these interesting scenes, I arose soon after the sun and inquired for the palikar who had promised to be my guide: but he was engaged in carrying out the dead body of one of his Albanian comrades who had shot himself in the night. This was the first time I ever had known or heard of the crime of suicide in this country. The incident however made very little impression upon the minds of the garrison, who seemed to think that any one to whom life became a burden had a right to throw it off at pleasure; no one could assign a reason for this rash act of the deceased, who had been observed of late to indulge in frequent fits of melancholy: he was a tried palikar, and had been deeply engaged in the Suliot wars: perhaps the acts which he was then obliged to perpetrate lay heavy on his soul; perhaps conscience shook over him her torturing lash in the dead hour of night, and some pale imaginary spectre of an innocent victim, like the Gardikiote

which disturbed the rest of Mustafà, drove sleep far away from his eyelids! Be this as it may, the manner of his death did not preclude the rites of Turkish burial: his corpse was placed under a shed adjoining the castle, whilst a sheik who lived in one of the repaired habitations of Kako-Suli, was sent for to perform the previous ablutions. When I returned from my early excursion I found the holy man arrived and busily occupied washing the body in a large trough with warm water and soap: he continued for two hours in this employment: the wound was just under the left breast and the ball had probably penetrated the very source of life: the countenance was void of distortion and retained that calm serenity in death which is said always to ensue from fatal wounds by gun-shot. After ablution the body was sewed up in a coarse cloth for interment in the cemetery at Kako-Suli.

When we had finished breakfast our host carried us round this fortified serai or castle, which is built upon a fine isolated cliff, commanding the various avenues of its mountainous district and frowning over the terrific chasm down which the Acheron pours an impetuous torrent. In style of architecture it is somewhat similar to the great palace of Litaritza; to which, although it yields in that part of the edifice which is destined for a serai, it is vastly superior in its corresponding fortifications. After we had taken a survey of the fortress I determined to pursue the best plan I could devise for observing the general configuration of this interesting tract of country, the direction of its mountain ridges and valleys, the course of its rivers, and its relative situation with regard to other districts. For this purpose I ascended with Antonietti and our obliging palikar to the highest summit of the great chain of mountains behind Kiaffa, which is called Raithovouni*. It was a labour of two hours to accomplish this task; but the extent and grandeur of the view when we arrived at the top fully recompensed us

* See the plate representing the exit of the Acheron.

for our toil. We could see from hence nearly the whole of Epirus, the Acroceraunian hills, the Lake of Ioannina, and the distant Pindus in its full extent: Arta with its lovely bay seemed to lie beneath us; all the scattered isles, rocks, and promontories of the Ionian Sea were brought into view: but the most interesting prospect was that of the Suliot district below us, the winding course of the Acheron, tremendous chasms and ravines into which the light of day can scarcely penetrate, precipices covered with thick woods and surmounted with forts and castles, and the beautiful Acherusian plain, through which the river, after its exit from these truly infernal regions, flows in the most graceful curvature towards the sea. Having provided myself with paper and pencil, I contrived to take that map-like sketch of the district which the reader has seen at the head of the sixth chapter in this volume*; but I experienced great difficulty in my operations from the violence of the wind. Our conductor pointed out the place where the traitor Botzari was defeated with his unworthy train, as well as many other spots signalized by the Suliot combats: but the cold was too excessive in this lofty region to permit of our remaining long on the summit, and we soon descended again to the castle. From thence I did not stir out again this evening, being greatly fatigued with my morning excursions.

* In this little sketch are the two following inaccuracies: Avarico and Samoniva ought to change places, and the river Bassa to be Vavà. These mistakes occurred from my residing at a distance from the engraver, and not seeing the vignettes before they were struck off.

Curious Grecian circular Arch in the Ruins near Camarina.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure from Suli—District called Laka—Forests of Oaks in the Route to Lelevo—Fire-flies—Route to Castri—Ruins—Albanian Wedding—Route to the Village of St. George—Enormous Plane Trees—River of Luro—Description of the great Aqueduct—Route to Eleftherochori—Bridge of the Pasheena—Greek Monastery—Route through the Woods of Arta—Guard of Albanian Peasantry—Dogana and Canal of Luro—Castle of Rogous—Serpents—Cangià—Traces of the Aqueduct—Luro—Arrival at Camarina—Captain Giannaki—Visit to the ancient Ruins at Rhiniassa—Cyclopéan Walls, Citadel, Theatre, Plan of the City, &c.—Route through Nicopolis to Prevesa—Visit to Ali Pasha's Frigate—Punta and Fortress—Excursions to Nicopolis and Santa Maura—Difficulty in procuring Means of Conveyance—Departure from Prevesa.

MAY 16.—We arose very early this morning, and having distributed a present among the garrison, departed through the castle gate under a farewel salute of artillery and muskets, accompanied by a small party

of Albanian palikars. We proceeded in the first instance to the almost deserted site of Kako-Suli, amidst whose ruined habitations a single Turkish mosque rears the crescent triumphant over the cross: from thence we returned upon our track, and passing through Kiaffa and Samoniva arrived at the village of Avarico, near the defile of Klissura, which is now commanded by the guns of the great fortress. The scenery here assumes every feature of awful magnificence, where the gloom of woods, the foaming of torrents, and the precipitous nature of the rocks cannot be surpassed. The road was so extremely rough and bad that we were obliged to descend from horseback and walk many miles of this day's journey. In about four hours we emerged from these gloomy Acherontian defiles where the mountain chain of Suli ends and the district called Laka commences. Here the river winds in the most tortuous course imaginable, making several peninsulas, in which the isthmus is not so broad as a stone's throw; on one of these spots we eat our dinner under the shade of a noble plane-tree, smoked our pipes, and slept for about an hour.

After this refreshment we parted with the Albanians and pursued our course for about an hour in a S. S. E. direction to the village of Jermi, which had been burnt by the vizir in his Suliot wars: from hence we had a charming view down a long valley quite to the gulf of Arta, in which the extreme softness of its features was rendered more pleasing by the contrast of that terrific scenery we had so lately quitted. In the course of another hour we took a more easterly direction over some low hills and then pursued our way under a magnificent canopy formed by the extended arms of aged oaks which appeared coeval with the forests of Dodona: here grows some of the finest timber in the world, still spared by the axe, which may yet be destined to bear the flag of regenerated Greece over the waves that now wash her desolated shores. After having performed a long journey under a brilliant sun, the coolness of these over-arching groves was quite delightful. The evening shades had descended before we arrived at Lelevo, a large village

pleasantly situated in a fertile plain nearly covered with walnut-trees of an astonishing growth: under the branches of one of these which shaded the cottage of our host, we spread out and eat our supper as under a tent, whilst myriads of luciole, or fire-flies, flitting about in all directions, gave us almost sufficient light by their vivid corruscations. I never observed this insect at any other time or any other place in Greece. In the village of Lelevo cherry-trees are very abundant, and its pastures are most luxuriant; the cattle are generally of a white colour.

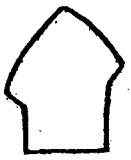
Next morning we made an excellent breakfast upon cow's milk, this being the only time we had met with it since we left England. The village, according to vulgar tradition, is said to have received its appellation from the devil, who was caught here in the shape of a black dog by a necromancer, who constructed the kamares, as they are called, or the great aqueduct of Nicopolis. The conjuror having tied an enchanted cord round the neck of his prisoner, forced him to labour in this great work and to point out a level for the direction of the water; but in the long struggle which took place before the black architect could be subdued, he made all the hills resound with cries of Lelevo, which, in the Albanian language, means "loose me," or "let me go;" and hence the name of the village. Mr. Pouqueville having informed us of the extreme beauty of the aqueduct and pointed out its situation, we determined to deflect a little from our route for the purpose of visiting it.

Proceeding for about one hour south along the plain of Lelevo we arrived at the ruins of an ancient Epirotic city, called Castri, upon the top of a beautiful hill almost two miles in circuit. The lower part of the walls are built in the Pseudo-Cyclopéan style, and like most ruins in this country, exhibit remains of a superstructure of a much more modern date. This hill is covered with a vast variety of fine shrubs and trees, which, intermingled with wild flowers and parasitical plants hanging in festoons from the branches, or clinging to the ancient

walls, would make it a most delightful retreat, did not danger lurk within its recesses from the troops of brigands that frequently make it their head quarters: in the rooms of a deserted monastery we observed the remains of several fires over which these gentry had probably been dividing their booty or regaling themselves after the toils of their profession. Whilst my friend and myself, having left our attendants at the monastery, were ranging about the turfy terraces and entangled thickets, we were somewhat alarmed at hearing a long but interrupted fire of musketry at the bottom of the hill, and began to think we had been too rash in penetrating without invitation into the haunts of robbers; but upon advancing to that side whence the noise proceeded, we discovered the retinue of an Albanian wedding in full procession returning from a village church. The bride was seated astride upon a horse led by the bridegroom; she was accompanied by several of her own sex with a great crowd of men, all of whom at stated times fired off their pistols and muskets in honour of the festive ceremony. After having watched this merry train till they were hid by an intervening hill, we returned to the monastery without having discovered any inscription or other relic which might guide us to a knowledge of the site of Castri. In a wall of the convent chapel we observed a very fine piece of marble cornice which probably once adorned some ancient temple. Winding down the hill we took a direction nearly north-east, and in about an hour arrived on the banks of the river of Luro (Ποτάμι τῦ Λύρο) which some have called the Charadrus and others the Inachus, upon the very fallible authority of Meletius, for that river took its rise in Pindus and flowed near the Amphilochian Argos. I cannot find it mentioned by any ancient author; but its beauty is so great that I am surprised it has not been more particularized. The platani upon its banks even force one to credit all the assertions respecting the astonishing age to which these trees are said to attain: from their size and venerable appearance one might almost suppose they had wit-

nessed the reign of Pyrrhus, the celebration of the Augustan victory and the devastations of the ferocious Attila. Many of them are quite decayed, standing as it were by means of their bark, and would contain at least twenty men within their hollow trunks. Having ascended up the stream about two miles north, we crossed it over a natural bridge of rock, beneath which the torrent, compressed into a narrow channel, roars like distant thunder under the feet of the passenger. The village of Aghio Giorgios, or St. George, stands upon a rocky eminence on the left bank, shaded with luxuriant foliage, and at a little distance above it are two fine rows of arches built of Roman brick thrown across the valley of the river Luro. The children of this place had probably never seen a foreigner before, for they ran from us screaming with all their might and main as if we had been monsters. Under the conduct of the papas, who was only to be distinguished from the poorest peasant by his beard, we visited the fountain, whose abundant source springing out of a hard rock, once supplied the great city of Nicopolis with water at the distance of near forty miles from the spot. It is now diverted from its former channel and falls over rocks in a broad picturesque cascade into the river. This water is said to possess certain poisonous qualities: all our party sipped a little of it, and certainly each person retained a very disagreeable taste in his mouth for several hours afterwards. It must surely have changed its nature since the time when the Romans taught it to flow in its artificial channel; or else it may have deposited its nauseous ingredients in so long and circuitous a course. Descending from this spring to the high bank of the river we observed a deep broad channel cut in the rock, but now dry, which led to the first row of arches thrown over the valley: I am unable to conjecture what reason could have induced the architect to carry on this channel for about fifty yards further to meet another aqueduct built in a style of greater elegance than the former, with which it formed an angle on the opposite side of the river. If it had

been to increase the volume of water one would suppose that might have been done at a much less expence by enlarging the channel of the first. As it is, the ruins of these two aqueducts, formed with double rows of arches, bestriding the clear pellucid stream whose banks are covered with the most splendid foliage, form a scene which is both novel and picturesque. We descended down to the bed of the river, and having eat our dinner under one of the alcoves, we afterwards examined every part of the ruins in search of an inscription which Mr. Pouqueville had informed us might be seen, but without success. We then ascended to the top of the aqueduct to view the fine scenery which the upper region of this superb valley affords in the most agreeable combination of woods and rocks and water that can be imagined. On one of the mountains that decorate the right bank of the river we observed a channel cut in its side into which the water was conveyed by the arches just described: its height is between four and five feet and its breadth nearly three: its form may be known from the section here represented.



It is covered with a very fine stucco, and the external wall, where the rock was cut away, is generally supported by small buttresses: it has been broken open in many places, and was distinguishable in its windings along the side of several hills which we passed in our ride from Castri*.

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* In a country not thoroughly explored, it must always be gratifying to a reader to compare the accounts of different travellers: for this reason I give an extract from one of Mr. Jones's letters relating to the tract we have just passed over. The letter addressed to Ali Pasha alluded to at the end, is one which I wrote to the vizir in fulfilment of a promise which he exacted of me to give him a short detail of our adventures from his dominions to our native land.

"From Eleftherochori we sent forward our baggage to Lelevo, and proceeded ourselves by a different route, in order to visit the remains of the noble aqueduct which brought water to the city of Nicopolis from a distance of forty miles. We sent two of our guards with the luggage, and took old Yusuf Aga to accompany us. Indeed we were guards to ourselves, being armed à l'Albanaise with our sabres by our sides and pistols in our belts, which by the bye would have been sufficient to have got us murdered had we been really attacked.

Having satisfied our curiosity we remounted our horses and departed by a different route, nearly south, leaving the river winding through

"At the village of St. George the aqueduct crosses the Charadrus by two rows of arches which join at an angle on the other side the valley: twelve arches are in a perfect state in one of these branches, with twelve others above them of considerable size: the one which is thrown over the principal body of the river is at least forty feet in span by thirteen in breadth. The view up the Charadrus from the top of the broken arches, which I ascended, is inimitably grand: I endeavoured to make a sketch of it, but the rain fell so fast that my pencil was quite useless. At about fifty yards below the aqueduct the river runs under the rocks in a most curious manner, and washes the roots of the largest plane-trees in the world: we measured one and found it twelve yards in circumference, but we afterwards saw others of much larger dimensions. Having contemplated this charming scenery till we were drenched with rain we proceeded to the ruins of some ancient town called Castri, and from thence to Lelevo. From Lelevo to Suli is an interesting ride; but just as we were going to set out, a Turkish officer of the vizir's waited upon us, and told us that the road was not safe with so small a guard; and as we deemed prudence the best part of courage, we determined to take another and rather a longer route, and got by night to a village called Roumano. The best house in the village was a miserable hut. We therefore pitched our tent on the side of the mountain, which is called Voutzi, having mount Olitzika immediately in front of us to the north-east. Soon after we arrived the inhabitants brought us by the horns a large goat, which we begged might be exchanged for a kid; this was quickly produced, and roasted whole by a large fire of wood close to our tent door. The Turk sitting cross-legged and turning the kid on a large wooden spit, with the wild looking Albanians on one side of the fire, and old Yusuf Aga, with our other guards, on the other side, formed a curious scene, and would have afforded no bad subject for a painting.

"We struck our tent early next morning, and ascending the mountain, entered into the extraordinary regions of the Suliotes, rendered celebrated by the noble defence these brave mountaineers made against the arms of Ali. We remained here a day, and went through some of the finest scenery in the world to see the renowned river Acheron enter the great Suliot chasm. Next day we descended into this chasm on our way to Glyky, where Ali has a fort, and from thence traced the river up to the Acherusian Lake, near which we visited the ruins of some old Greek town, to which Mr. Hughes gives the name of Ephyre.

"Returning again to Glyky, we traversed the great and fertile plain of Paramithiá to the fine Turkish town of that name. From hence I meant to have crossed the river Kalamas, the Thyamis of antiquity, to have visited the ruins of Pandosia, on the banks of that river, and to have proceeded from thence to Philátis and Delvino; but as we had not a bouyourdee of the Pasha's (he being at Triccala) we did not think it prudent. We therefore took the road to Ioannina, visiting on our way the ruins of Cassopæa, where there is a theatre of beautiful Grecian architecture, the largest and most perfect existing in the country.

"On our arrival at Ioannina we found the vizir returned from Triccala. We had sent forward a servant from the village of Borelesa with our letters to Signore Colovo, his secretary, and upon our arrival found the house of Mr. G. Foresti, the British minister, prepared for our reception (he being in England). In the evening Signore Colovo waited upon us from the vizir, to compliment us upon our arrival, and to know whether we were pleased with our house, &c. Next morning he waited upon us again to say the vizir was ready to receive us, and we accompanied him to the palace, where we were received by Ali in what is called his secret chamber. We found him seated on his divan quite unattended except by a few Albanian guards outside the door. The room had but few ornaments, and was by no means so splendid as some which I have since seen. He received us with an inclination of the body, putting his hand upon his heart with much grace and dignity, which is the Eastern manner of salutation. After our letters of introduction had been read, he expressed much pleasure at seeing us in Ioannina, hoped that we had met with no difficulties on the road from Prevesa, and asked if we were comfortably lodged, &c. &c. As we were drinking our coffee and smoking our long Turkish

a valley on our right. In less than an hour however it again crossed our path, at a spot where there is a very handsome bridge, called "The Bridge of the Pasheena," because it was built by the wife of Hassan Pasha of Ioannina: it is shaded by magnificent platani and elms, to which the vines are married, and hang around them in the most graceful festoons. We continued our journey in a direction S. S. W. through a kind of prairie, covered with the richest verdure and adorned with every species of flower and tree that can add beauty or grandeur to a scene. The road soon led us between two ruined and almost contiguous churches built of large Roman brick, and in the very best style of that masonry: greatest part of their walls are still standing covered with ivy and vines, and shaded by trees of astonishing magnitude; one of the oaks measured twenty-seven feet five inches in girth, at the distance of a yard from the ground; but I saw others which appeared much larger: the leaves too of these trees were of greater size than usual, indicating the extraordinary fertility of the soil.

Our guides informed us that the larger church belonged to a monastery, in which there once dwelt a hundred caloyers; and the foundations of a more extensive edifice, apparent in the adjoining grove, seemed to confirm their evidence. In this church there is a finely built

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pipes, he asked us several questions respecting Lord Byron, Major Leake, Hobhouse, Hughes, &c. I delivered to him Hughes's letter, with which he seemed much pleased, and asked me a great many questions about him and his friend Mr. Parker.

"You already know the character of this man.

- - - - 'A man of war and woes;
Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,
While gentleness her milder radiance throws
Along that aged venerable face,
The deeds that lurk beneath, and stain him with disgrace.'

"He can make his countenance one of the most pleasing and alluring that I have ever seen, and had I not known his character, I should have pronounced him the most humane sovereign in the world. He showed us great attention and kindness, and promised us horses and every thing else necessary for our journey to any part we pleased to visit. I should have told you that he asked a great many questions about Dr. Holland. He took me for a bishop!—General Campbell, I suppose, had contrived some fun of this kind in his letter to him. So much for our visit to the great Ali Pasha."

cupola, and the figures of saints and martyrs are not quite obliterated from the walls.

In a little less than one hour from this spot we passed through the village of Philippiada, whose miserable huts are constructed of hurdles, and soon afterwards arrived at Eleftherochori, on the great plain of Arta, where we intended to sleep. This village is but one degree better than Philippiada, but we were too much fatigued to find fault with our lodging.

Next morning we breakfasted, as at Lelevo, upon delicious milk, and then resumed our march, accompanied by about twenty of the villagers armed with muskets, to escort us through the deep woods of Arta, which lay in this day's journey. At the distance of about a mile from the village we entered these magnificent groves which extend for many leagues along the gulf, covering mountains, valleys, and plains with their umbrageous shade. They are the resort of numerous brigands, who for a time escape the hand of justice amidst their deep recesses. To guard us from a sudden attack our Albanian palikars spread themselves all around, running about with incredible agility, and affording a most picturesque spectacle as they threaded the bushes and thickets, calling out to each other in their uncouth tongue, and firing off at intervals their pistols and muskets. In a little more than an hour we arrived at a spot where the river of Luro emerges from these thick covers, near a large wooden bridge and dogana, where the boats come up from Prevesa, and all articles of merchandise pay a duty before they enter the canal, which the vizir has cleared out, and which joins the new road from Arta to Ioannina*. Here we heard such alarming reports concerning the robbers that Mustafà thought it his duty to send for a large reinforcement of palikars from the village of Mahmet Chaoush, which lay about a mile distant. In the course of an hour they arrived with the codgià-bashee at their

* See vol. i. p. 435.

head. Being thus secured, we again penetrated into the thickest part of the wood, and were greatly amused by the evolutions of the Albanians, who having divided themselves into two sets, exhibited a species of mimic warfare, one party retreating and the other advancing by turns; whilst their shouts and the report of their fire-arms echoed finely all around. In less than half an hour we saw the ruins of an immense fortress, called the Castle of Rogous, surmounting a noble eminence, and said to be a general place of rendezvous for the banditti of these regions. In spite of this we determined to explore it, since we felt assured that the noise of our guard must have scared away any robbers that might be skulking within; or if not, we should probably be more than a match for them: accordingly we turned up a narrow path on the left hand, and having passed the ruins of some ancient outworks, soon arrived in front of the castle itself. We entered by a fine ruined gateway, and found it to consist of three courts, each diminishing in size. The lower part of the walls exhibit a very excellent specimen of the ancient Pseudo-Cyclopéan masonry, and support a superstructure of comparatively modern date, but of much better workmanship than we before observed in any reparation of ancient fortifications. It is washed to the south and west by the river of Luro, which is here both broad and deep, and makes almost a perfect right angle in its course: on both these sides we found beautiful terraces, raised above the river, commanding a charming prospect of the Ambracian Gulf, and covered with a turf as soft as velvet, where a thousand wild flowers dyed the ground with various hues, whilst the castle walls were literally hid by ivy and parasitical plants. On the other side, the view extending over spacious woods comprehending hills and valleys in their circuit, out of which appeared the blue peaks of mountains rising aloft into the air, was, if possible, still more delightful. The style of building indicates three different æras, that of the ancient Grecian, the Roman, and the more modern Frank. Many rooms in this fortress are still in a tolerable state of perfection; in

the largest court stands a monastery and chapel, which was occupied by some monks till these holy fathers were dispossessed by the banditti: we observed many marks of the latter tenants on the smoke-stained walls of the half-ruined apartments, but we met not with a living creature except two or three large serpents that were basking amidst the ruins. Our Albanians had killed several of these reptiles in the woods: one of them was of a most extraordinary form, about four feet in length, having a head as large as a child's fist and diminishing gradually in thickness to the tail, which tapered in a point: the scales upon the back were of a dark green, each single scale extending quite across the body of the animal, and lapping one over the other: I think I never saw a more disgusting monster. Many such are now bred in these marshy regions of Epirus, from which the arts of cultivation have been so long banished.

Regarding the identity of this fortress I think there can be little doubt but that it was the ancient castle called Charadra or Charadnes*, celebrated in this district as a place of security, and on that account selected for the confinement of the Ætolian ambassadors, instead of Buchetium, by the Epirotic allies of the Roman consul. This place was chosen by Philip King of Macedonia as a rendezvous for his army, which he transported over the Ambracian gulf into Acarnania, after his ill-advised siege and capture of Ambracus†. Its distance is three hours from Arta, and nine or ten from Prevesa.

Leaving the ruins we still proceeded for more than two hours under the delightful shade of these thick woods, through spacious alleys which had lately been cleared by orders of the vizir. We emerged

* Polyb. Hist. lib. xxii. c. 9.
Probably however this latter appellation may be a false reading in the copies of Polybius, or it may mean the river from which the castle took its name, just as the Charadra, a fortress in Phocis, derived its title from a river Charadrus. Pausan. l. x. c. xxxiii. 3.

† Αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δυνάμιν, προῆγε παρὰ Χαράδραν, σπεύδων διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν καλέμενον κόλπον· ὃς στενώτατός ἐστι κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων Ιερὸν, καλέμενον Ἄκτιον. Polyb. l. iv.

from their coverts into a fine opening in which stands the romantic village of Cangià, where we found a young Albanian captain, son of Giannaki, the governor of Camarina, waiting our arrival with his troop of palikars. He had received orders to this effect, and had been at his post for the last four days. Here then we dismissed our villagers, after having distributed amongst them a sufficient remuneration for their trouble and loss of time. We remained about two hours to dine, and found the wine of this village remarkably good.

As we left Cangià we perceived the aqueduct of Nicopolis on the side of a long mountain to the west of the village, and traced it for more than a mile: the wood now became less thick, and the trees broken into clumps. Having passed the ruins of a small Hellenic fortress on the right and a fountain of exquisite beauty, full of large fish, on the left of the road, we arrived in about one hour at Luro, a miserable village, with huts built of mud and twigs: it has a considerable square fortress built by the vizir in his Suliot wars, but falling rapidly into decay. From hence we turned into a direction north north-west, and in three hours more arrived at the beautiful village of Camarina, where we were received into the house of the worthy Captain Giannaki. This was without exception the most gentlemanly Albanian we ever met with: there was a commanding dignity, mixed with great urbanity, in his countenance and manners, that is seldom seen amongst any people: he is one of the oldest and most esteemed of the vizir's friends, and is very celebrated for his valour and good conduct.

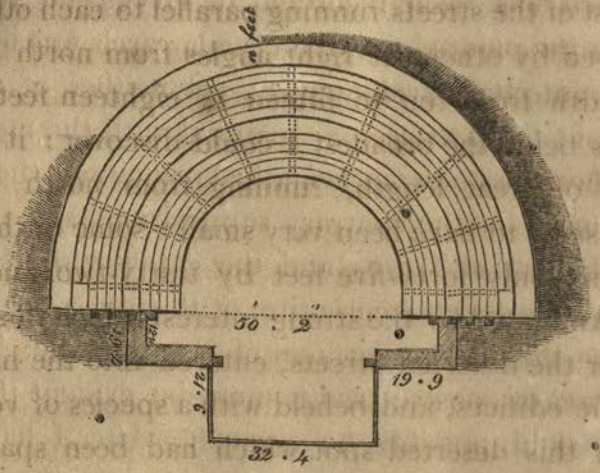
Camarina* is charmingly situated upon fine eminences, intermingled with trees, gardens, and vineyards, and commands a noble view of the Gulf of Arta, the Acarnanian mountains, the Ionian Sea with its islands, and the isthmus of Nicopolis lying, as it were, below it. Still higher up the fine hill upon which Camarina stands are the

* Its name is probably derived from καμάρα, an arch, as it is situated nearer the great aqueduct of Nicopolis; or it may be a corruption of Comarina, from the gulf of Comarus, which lies only a few miles distant.

spacious ruins of an ancient Greek city, called Rhiniassa, where formerly stood in all probability the city of Elatria, belonging to the district of the Cassopæi. Being fatigued by our journey, we deferred the inspection of them till the morning. The house of the governor was large, and so also was his family: his eldest son, who commanded our escort, had been married some years, and lived under the same roof with his father: the family was of the Greek religion, but the same reverence was paid to its chief as amongst Mahometans of the highest rank: neither man, woman, nor child sat down, or eat, or drank, in his presence.

Early next morning we started under the guidance of young Giannaki to view the ruins of Rhiniassa. These give the traveller no trouble in the search, standing fully exposed to view in the curvature of a grand ascent upon two levels or spacious platforms of rock, one above the other, and surrounded by the ancient walls which remain in a very extraordinary state of preservation. Their circuit may be traced for the distance of five or six miles in their full extent, enclosing a space within sufficient to contain probably 100,000 inhabitants: this is covered with the vestiges of public edifices and private dwellings, the remains of which, for the most part, retain several layers of stones above the foundations; hence we are enabled to gain a complete and most satisfactory idea of the plan of this city, the length and breadth of its streets, the position and comparative size of its public and private buildings, &c., which are almost as great a curiosity as the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The citadel appears to have stood on the western side and to have been admirably fortified: its walls remain to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, excellently constructed in a very ancient Pseudo-Cyclopéan style. A postern gateway remains quite entire, exhibiting a fine specimen of the circular arch in a style of architecture decidedly Grecian. It has often been made a matter of dispute whether the Greeks ever used an arch in the construction of their buildings: the

specimen which has been recorded at Tiryns and this at Rhiniassa shew that both the pointed and the circular arch was introduced, however sparingly, into their architecture: yet neither of them prove that ingenious people to have been acquainted with the modern method of constructing the arch upon mathematical principles; they rather indeed, afford an argument for the contrary supposition, since both in the instance of the gallery of Tiryns and the gateway of Rhiniassa we find the pitch of the one and the curvature of the other, formed by means of the chissel upon the interior surfaces of large parallel blocks of stone. With this method of construction it must be evident that no arches of a large span could possibly be erected. After I had sketched this curious gateway (see the vignette at the head of the chapter) we examined the interior of the citadel and entered into a very fine subterranean apartment, to which we are conducted by a narrow passage almost twenty yards in length: this room is nearly square, being nine feet nine inches by nine feet six in dimensions: its ceiling is arched like a fine alcove, and as well as the walls, covered over with a stucco as smooth as polished marble, divided elegantly into compartments with rich cornices and mouldings. As this city was probably inhabited long after the Roman conquest of Epirus, it is difficult to say whether the work in question was fabricated by its Greek or Roman citizens. From hence we directed our steps to a very fine theatre which stands near the upper part of the city to the north north-east, just under the high and wooded precipices over which the wall was carried on this side: the general breadth of the wall was ten feet. In this theatre I counted thirty-seven rows of seats, with one broad corridor or περιζωμα; each seat was one foot three inches high and one foot six inches broad; the breadth of the upper gallery was only nine feet: the plan however and dimensions of this edifice will be seen much better by the delineation annexed.



On the rocky height to the north north-west of this theatre stands one of the principal gateways in a high state of preservation: the prospect from its coilon yields in beauty to few which Greece can boast, and is an excellent spot from whence a draughtsman might take a complete ground plan of the whole ancient city. At some distance to the north-east we observed the precipices of Zalongo once stained with the blood of the Suliot heroines. Below lies the small village whence it derives its name, whose inhabitants have with immense toil cleared away part of the ruined site of Rhiniassa for the purpose of gardens and vineyards: this seems a curious waste of labour in a country where two thirds of the land lies entirely uncultivated.

In descending from the theatre in a south-east direction through the city we passed the remains of a large building whose walls of fine Cyclopéan masonry remain about a yard in height; its length is one hundred and ten feet and its breadth one hundred; but nothing is left which can give rise to a conjecture respecting its use and appropriation; we measured the peribolus of another which was ninety feet by thirty; near to it, on the opposite side of the street, is a large oblong edifice which was fronted with columns whose bases are still standing.

The plan of this city appears to have been laid out with considerable

regularity, most of the streets running parallel to each other from east to west and crossed by others at right angles from north to south; they varied in breadth from ten to fifteen or eighteen feet; one of these last dimensions being the broadest I could discover: it appeared to be a main street, of great length, running from north to south. The private houses seem to have been very small: some of the largest which I measured were only forty-five feet by thirty-two and forty-four by twenty-five. Animated by the strong interest which this scene inspired, we ranged over the deserted streets, entered into the habitations, surveyed the public edifices, and beheld with a species of veneration every fragment upon this deserted spot which had been spared amidst the wreck of time. It has hitherto been almost unexplored, Col. Leake being the only modern traveller before ourselves who is known to have visited its remains: when excavations shall hereafter be made, we may expect not only to discover treasures interesting from their connexion with the arts, but evidence which may enable us to assign its proper name to this ancient site: by Meletius it is referred to Elatria, and no other city at present puts in a better claim; yet we are astonished to find such little notice taken by ancient authors of a place so extensive and apparently so magnificent as this: for, although we unaccountably missed it, Mr. Jones subsequently discovered a second theatre towards the south-east boundary, cut out of the solid rock like the other, and in a state of as good preservation.

After spending between four and five hours in this delightful ramble, we returned to Camarina for breakfast, and then resumed our journey in a southerly direction towards Prevesa, from which Camarina is about twelve miles distant. At the bottom of the heights we soon entered upon a large plain across which the aqueduct of Nicopolis, having left the mountains, is seen stretching its arched colonnades. It enters the isthmus by a pass through the hills, near the Gulf of Comarus. When we arrived at that beautiful chain of low mountains which bounds Nicopolis on the north, we remained some time to contemplate the

scene of ruin which lay beneath us, and then advancing over the site of the "City of Victory," arrived early in the evening at Prevesa, and took up our quarters with the worthy old Italian merchant who had been our host on a former occasion.

Next morning we received visits from the codgià-bashee and the vice-consul, and learned from the latter that an English merchant, a Mr. Richards of Malta, lay with several ships at Port Vathì, ready to take in cows and oxen purchased of the vizir for the supply of that island. It happened that we brought letters of introduction from England to this gentleman, and had been prevented from delivering them by the plague which broke out in Malta at the very time of our intended visit; we therefore gladly seized this opportunity of making his acquaintance in a place where we least expected it, and as soon as we had finished our breakfast repaired to the spot, about half a mile distant from the town, where we found him encamped on the shore, with three vessels lying at anchor. He had been here about a fortnight, and expected to remain a month longer before he should take on board all his cattle. We dined with him under his tent and he promised to return the visit next day at our lodging: few things are more agreeable than the meeting of fellow-countrymen in a foreign barbarous land.

Next morning Mr. Parker and myself took a boat and went on board the vizir's frigate which had given us so much trouble at Ioannina, and which lay at anchor in the harbour opposite Prevesa. This, like all other Turkish men of war, was held under a divided command, there being two captains!—one for the Greeks and another for the Turks! The Greek captain was a fine weather-beaten old tar from the town of Galaxithi, but the Turkish chief was not on board: the crew looked rather like a set of tailors on their shop-board, being for the most part seated cross-legged on deck smoking their pipes and playing at draughts or chess. The ship however seemed much cleaner and in better order than Turkish ships in general are reported to be. She

was large and roomy, being twenty-nine feet across her quarter-deck; and though built in a clumsy manner was reckoned by no means a bad sailer. She was not intended originally for her present destination, having been a Hydriot merchant vessel which put into the vizir's port of Butrinto during a gale of wind in her voyage to Ancona: there however the unfortunate captain was decoyed ashore, and disappeared, whilst the vessel was detained as a lawful prize and converted to its present use. After having taken coffee and smoked a pipe in the captain's cabin, we stepped into our boat and rowed to the Punta, where we landed and proceeded as far as the new fortress which Ali has erected on the Acarnanian side of the entrance into the Gulf. Like almost all his forts, it appears strong only when the enemies are taken into consideration with whom it is probable he may have to contend: this is sufficient for his purpose, and he is loth to waste his money upon superfluities: in the walls we observed several blocks of marble, which, with their inscriptions, had been sawed asunder: upon one of them I perceived mention made of the ACTIAN APOLLO. Here we re-embarked and returned to Prevesa to receive our guest and talk of England.

Next day we made an excursion to Nicopolis, when I found that we had been fortunate in the investigation of its ruins at our former visit; for being situated on a marshy plain, instead of a rocky platform like most ancient cities in Greece, many of its buildings are literally choked up and hid from the view, during the summer months, by thickets of nettles and thistles, which grow to the height of eight or ten feet, and effectually bar all human approach. Being however extremely anxious to take some measurements of the Great Theatre, I made an endeavour to penetrate up to that edifice; but whilst I was cutting a path with my travelling sabre through the lofty thistles that opposed my progress, a serpent of enormous size rushed by my side, making quite a crash amongst the weeds in his way towards the

ruins. I stood still for a considerable time listening to the noise which this monster made in his retreat, and then retreated myself, leaving the Great Theatre to the dramatis personæ which now figure upon its stage.

Two days after this adventure I took a boat and paid a visit to Colonel M'Combe at Santa Maura, and as the quarantine laws were not now in force, I was permitted to land and proceed to the castle, where I dined with the governor, and then returned in the cool of a delightful evening. One object of my voyage to that island was to procure some method of conveyance to the shores of Italy, since we could find none at Prevesa; but even there I was unable to succeed. We next endeavoured to persuade one of the captains of Mr. Richards's squadron to bend his sails and carry us across the Adriatic, and that gentleman kindly gave him permission, since it was very improbable that he would be detained longer by such a voyage than he would have to stay idle at Prevesa. The fellow however thinking that we were sorely pressed, demanded such an exorbitant sum for his services, that we instantly broke off the negotiation, and changed our plan of proceeding.

We now determined to take a boat from Prevesa as far as Parga, which was at this time under British protection, and try our chance there for a conveyance to the Italian coast: accordingly on the 28th of May we packed up our baggage, bid adieu to our Prevesan acquaintance and settled accounts with Mustafà and Demetrio. These two faithful domestics followed us to the place of embarkation, and a scene there occurred, which, however distressing at the time, is now pleasing to reflect upon, because it does credit to human nature. They both appeared inconsolable; they cried aloud and sobbed like children, and poor Mustafà rushed into the water up to his knees, just as the boat was pushed off the

shore, to kiss our hands for the last time: we then observed them, as we glided over the Ionian waves, retreating from the crowd of unconcerned spectators, and taking their way towards our late lodging, rendered melancholy by the absence of those whom they appeared to esteem, whom they had faithfully served, and in whose fatigues and dangers they had shared.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from Prevesa—Porto Phanari—Arrival at Parga—Description of its Site, &c.—Character of the People—Historical Details of Parga—Conduct of the Russian Cabinet—Walk in the Environs—Departure to Paxo—Description of that Island—Ancient Legend—Sail through the Channel of Corfu—Coast of Epirus—Acroceraunian Mountains—Celebration of the King's Birthday on the little Isle of Marlera—Tent Scene—Reflections thereon—Cross the Adriatic—Coast of Italy—Ruins of Egnatia—Bari—Barbary Corsair—Barletta—Quarantine.

IT was about eight o'clock in a beautiful evening when we sailed out of the Gulf of Prevesa and for the last time looked back with a melancholy interest upon scenes so celebrated in the page of history. A soft breeze blowing from the land wafted us round the bluff point of Prevesa and along the Gulf of Comarus; but it died away in the course of a few hours and left us to the exertions of our rowers, who animated and relieved their toil by the wild songs of their country. Lulled by this music and the rippling waves which fell on the adjoining shore, we reclined upon the deck and slept soundly under the canopy of a Grecian sky. We awoke about sun-rise and found ourselves exactly in front of Porto Phanari, at the mouth of the river Acheron, with a fine breeze blowing right astern. Here we lay to for a short time to contemplate the inimitable scenery of this classic region, and by means of our telescope drew nearer to view those dark hills and towers of Suli which we had visited with so much delight. We observed a great number of fishermen spreading their nets in this beautiful harbour, which is defended by jutting promontories and mountains from every wind that blows, and which still, as it appears to

have done in ancient times, supplies almost the whole of this coast with fish*.

As the breeze began to freshen we soon set sail again, and scudding rapidly beside the Chimerian promontory, ran ashore upon a sandy beach in the Gulf of Parga, about a mile from the town, near a little river that has been mistaken for the Cocytus. Here we pitched our tent, under which we spread out our beds and enjoyed a few hours of comfortable repose after the disagreeable motion of the sea. When we got up, Antonietti lighted a fire of dry sticks to boil the kettle, and we had scarcely finished breakfast before we observed an officer in the English uniform descending from the fortress towards our place of encampment. He brought a kind invitation to us from Sir Charles Gordon, and we immediately accompanied him to the residence of the governor. Few situations upon these shores can rival that of Parga in beauty. A fine conical hill, covered with houses and surmounted by a fortress, juts out into the sea and forms two excellent harbours, one on the east and the other on the west; but the bay stretches out its long arms in two fine curves, of which that towards the Acherusian district is terminated by the promontory called Megali Pagagna, and the other towards Paxo and Corfu winds round like a sickle towards the high precipices of Cheladi, which are crowned by a convent and a light-house. The whole territory of Parga may be taken in at one coup d'œil, for it lies supine upon a theatre of hills, the

* The knowledge of this fact tends very curiously to confirm a conjecture of Bentley's upon a fragment of Callimachus, which before his time stood thus:

Ἐξ ἁλὸς ἡ ὄικην ἀνέρα Βυχέτιον
Ἔλκειν. Vid. Callim. ex. edit. Spanh. vol. ii. p. 377.

That great critic, with his usual sagacity, corrected it as follows:

Ἐξ ἁλὸς ἣν ὖκην ἀνέρα Βυχέτιον
Ἔλκειν.

And adds, "sententia perspicua, cujus tamen *ratio nunc latet*."

The reason however is now plain enough: Buchetium, which lies just above Porto Phanari, must have been anciently, as it still is, celebrated for its fishermen; but the hyca was so difficult a fish to catch that not even a fisherman of Buchetium, skilful as its inhabitants were, could take it. And that this was the character of the hyca, see Athenæus (lib. vii. c. 22), who quotes Hermippus as saying, ἶναι ἀντὴν ΔΥΣΘΗΡΑΤΟΝ. See also Philetas in loc. cit.

highest of which rises to a peak in the very centre of the chain: the whole of these are covered with the finest olives in the world, intermingled with orange trees and cedrats, adorned with gardens or vineyards, and refreshed by rivulets and perennial fountains, where the Parghiot virgins were once seen, like the heroines of the Odyssey, carrying linen for ablution, or bearing upon their heads pitchers of the purest water for the use of the family; but the finest features in the Parghiot landscape are now, alas! no more.

We were received by Sir C. Gordon with much cordiality and politeness, and I can recal few days during our travels which I spent with greater pleasure than those passed within the fortress of Parga. Most of our time this morning was occupied in perusing a large collection of English newspapers, from which we derived a pleasure which they only know who like ourselves have for a long time picked up no news respecting their native land except from French Moniteurs and Italian gazettes. At dinner we met one or two of the principal inhabitants, and a Signore Vlandi, chief commissary of police, to whose intelligence and civility we were much indebted. In the evening we took a walk round the town, which is large and for the most part well built, the houses being constructed of more solid materials than those which are met with in Turkish cities: the streets on the rock are very narrow and gloomy, but those on the lower town which lies around the port are quite the contrary. The castle is but a weak fortification and very badly mounted; but its few cannon were quite sufficient to keep in awe the savage hordes of Albanian banditti. It was gratifying to observe the respect paid by the inhabitants to their governor, a respect which seemed dictated by the strongest feelings of gratitude, and to which, from all we saw and heard of the conduct of that officer, we were convinced he was most justly entitled. The character of the Parghiotes was represented to us by every one connected with them in a very favourable light, and I have the best reasons for believing them to have been a very industrious, honest and moral people, in spite of all that may be said by

those who are interested in depreciating their good qualities: their attachment to liberty is well known by the determined and successful opposition which they made for thirty years against the attacks of an inveterate and powerful enemy; and by the assistance which they always rendered to the unfortunate Suliots or any other Christian people whose country lay under the fangs of an infidel despoiler. Their valour has never been called in question: but more, this valour has always shone forth in the defence of their rights only, never in aggression; for the Parghiotes had not at the time of their expatriation increased their territory by a single foot of ground since their ancestors first congregated together upon this hill-altar of Liberty. As for the crime of *piracy*, with which they have been charged, I believe that a person who should now assert it would be laughed at for his ignorance, since there never was a more industrious and commercial people, nor was ever an instance known of a Parghiot pirate on the coast of the Adriatic. This story owes its origin to the pages of Mr. Hobhouse, who did not visit Parga, and who merely quotes the burthen of a song to that effect made and sung by the Albanian palikars of Âli Pasha. The people of Parga indeed, were very likely to be called pirates and robbers by such kind of gentry. With regard to the religion of the Parghiotes, though they adhered strictly to the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church, they appeared to do so very conscientiously, according to the faith in which they had been brought up, and it would perhaps have been better to have cleared their minds from error and superstition by rational argument and kind forbearance than to have turned their religion into a reason for delivering up their country to the *Turks*.

With regard to the antiquity of the Parghiot settlement it can be carried no further back than the year 1400 of the Christian era; before that time the people dwelt in a place called Palaio-Parga, on the frontiers of their late territory, where its ruins may still be seen: they seem to have transferred their residence to modern Parga, for the sake of greater security against the incursions of Mahometan invaders; though tradition

refers this determination to a miraculous interposition. It is said that a shepherd wandering about in search of a stray sheep discovered an image of the Panagia in a cave upon the rock: this he transported to Palaio-Parga and placed in a church of that city; but the divine wood unable to rest quiet in this new habitation, returned without any human aid to its former habitation: from thence the pious shepherd again carried it off, and again it made good its retreat. As the determination of the timber seemed now fixed, it became the duty of the other party to give way, and the whole tribe emigrated to their rock in the sea, built a church over the cavern, and installed the image with great solemnity: there it remained during their days of prosperity, and I understand it has accompanied them in their melancholy exile. In the next year after their settlement the Parghiotes were taken under protection of the Venetian flag, which was at that time all powerful in the Adriatic, and this protection was continued by the one party and deserved by the other, until the lion of St. Mark fell beneath the victorious eagles of Buonaparte. Still Parga remained attached to the government of the Ionian islands, and would probably have remained so to this day, but for the unworthy conduct of the Russian cabinet in the treaty of March 1800, which basely gave up the continental dependencies of the Ionian Isles to *Turkish protection!* Never indeed has that cabinet interfered in the affairs of Greece without involving its unfortunate inhabitants in tenfold calamities. To see a christian power like Russia allying itself with Turks, for the sake of gaining an advantage over a powerful rival, is perhaps in the state of modern politics not to be wondered at; but when we find it bribing such allies by the cession of unfortunate Christian states, which are too weak to assert their own rights against these formidable arbitrators, this appears to be very incompatible with that character which governments as well as individuals ought to feel anxious to retain.

May 30th.—This morning we occupied ourselves as we had done yesterday in reading the newspapers of our country, and exulting in

its triumphs: we dined with the governor at the military mess, where we had the pleasure of meeting Captain Garland, of the Corsican Rangers, who had the chief management of the Parghiot capitulation. In the evening we took a long walk with that gentleman and Signore Vlandi, through the environs of Parga, which had been the scene of Ali Pasha's late defeat: the olive trees all around were marked with musket balls, and many of them, but especially the orange trees and cedrats, were cut down or otherwise injured by the malice of the Albanians. In returning home we came round to the beautiful fountain, called San Trifone, which is distant about a mile from the city: hither the wives and daughters of the Parghiots, in their picturesque attire, were accustomed to resort for water, which they carried in elegantly shaped vases upon their heads: we saw the whole causeway leading to this spot covered with females going and returning in this occupation, and amongst them discovered several of exquisite beauty and graceful form. The scene was animated and delightful. How is it now changed!

Next day we hired a bark at the price of eighty dollars to carry us to Barletta, on the Apulian coast, where we intended to perform quarantine. We endeavoured to get out of port, but were unable to succeed, on account of an adverse wind: we therefore put back, and next day, when the wind proved more favourable, accompanied Sir Charles Gordon in his gun-boat to the little Isle of Paxo, ordering our own bark to follow.

This island lies at the distance of fifteen miles from Parga: it is one arid rock, eighteen miles in circumference, without a plain or meadow within its territory: it possesses not a single fountain or spring of fresh water*, but procures this most necessary article of life from the Albanian continent or Corfu: it scarcely grows corn sufficient for one

* There is one spring of brackish water behind the town, but not a copious one, and of this we drank at dinner.

hundredth part of its population; yet with all these apparent disadvantages it has within itself the means of producing greater wealth to its inhabitants than all the rest of the Ionian Islands: these means depend solely upon its olive trees, which give such excellent oil, that it bears a very high premium throughout the Levant, and affords a most profitable exchange to its cultivators. Though there is scarcely any soil upon the surface of Paxo, yet the olive trees are of immense size, shooting their roots into the crevices of the rock, and extracting nourishment where almost every other plant would seek for it in vain. We were surprised at the appearance of the houses, which are built in a style remarkably neat and commodious: the inhabitants however, who amount in number to about 4000, were at this time by no means in affluent circumstances, but only just beginning to breathe from the calamities of war: during the occupation of their island by the French they had been not only distressed by the hard contributions of their masters, but still more so by the British cruisers, which captured their vessels and put a stop to their commerce and navigation.

The harbour of Paxo is admirable for small vessels, consisting of a beautiful but narrow and circuitous channel formed by a small islet which lies on the side towards Epirus: upon its central summit is the citadel, where a few cannon are mounted for the protection of the port against the attacks of corsairs: here also a little corn is grown as well as a few vegetables.

We dined at the house of the commandant, where we met an Italian abbate, one of the few remnants of the Venetian government. In the evening we attempted to take a walk in the environs of the town, but were soon fatigued in scrambling over rocks, for there is not a road in the whole island, so that a horse in Paxo is as scarce an article as in Venice, and the people, unable to take exercise either by riding or walking, or to employ a gondola, like the Venetians, are perhaps the most constant worshippers of the Dii Penates in the world.

In our ramble we observed some sheep and goats on the sea-shore, sipping the salt-water: we were informed that the few cows which are kept on this island do the same, and that the milk from all these animals is particularly good.

There are no traces of any ancient monuments in Paxo, of which indeed very little mention is made either by Greek or Latin authors*. The only legend connected with its history is related by Plutarch, in his treatise "De defectu oraculorum," to which Milton has alluded in his Hymn on the Nativity†, and which the reader will probably enjoy more in the elegant versification of a modern poet, than in a prosaic translation from the Greek.

"By Paxu's shores (thus ancient legends say)
As once a Grecian vessel held her way,
Steering her course for fair Hesperia's land,
Becalm'd she lay beside this desert strand.
Dark was the night, and stillness reign'd around;
When, from the shore, a more than mortal sound
The trembling steersman by his name address'd,
And spoke in accents wild its sad behest:—
"'Hence to the west thy destin'd course pursue,
And as Palodes rises to thy view,
Say to the Dryads of her woody shore
That Pan, the great, the pow'rful, is no more!'
"Awe-struck, the mariner his course pursu'd,
And when his vessel near'd the sacred wood,
In order due invok'd the Dryad train,
And, as enjoin'd, rehears'd the mystic strain:
When, from each haunted shade and cavern'd dell,
Loud piercing shrieks and notes of sorrow swell;

* Polybius (l. ii. c. 10) makes mention of a naval engagement, fought between the Illyrians and Achæans off Paxoi, for the plural is always used by the ancients in speaking of this place, on account of the little rock of Ante-Paxo, which lies to the south-east of it.

† "The lonely mountains o'er
And the resounding shore
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament."

Wild strains of anguish load the rising gale,
That now, propitious, fills his bended sail:
With haste he spreads his canvass to the wind,
And joys to leave the fearful coast behind."

Horæ Ionicæ, p. 22.

June 2d.—This morning, the wind being fair, we bid adieu to our hospitable entertainer and committed ourselves to the Adriatic waves in a Parghiot boat. She carried a 12-pounder at her prow, and her crew consisted of a master, a pilot, and three other mariners, besides ourselves and four poor Italians, who had deserted from the French army at Corfu, and were unable, without some such assistance, to regain their native shores. Thus, as it may well be supposed, we were closely packed! The breeze wafted us towards the promontory of Lefkimo, anciently called Leucymna, and towards evening we entered the beautiful channel of Corfu, between its cultivated shores on the one hand and the wild mountains of the Epirotic coast on the other.

"Protenus aërias Phæacum abscondimus arces,
Littoraque Epiri legimus."

Æn. iii. l. 291.

Here as the Port Pelodes and the lofty Buthrotum came into view, we roamed in imagination with the Trojan exiles upon the banks of their newly discovered Simois and Scamander, picturing to ourselves the meeting of Æneas with the unfortunate Andromache*, and her

* Solemnes tunc forte dapes, et tristia dona
Ante urbem in luco, falsi Simoentis ad undam,
Libabat cineri Andromache, manesque vocabat
Hectoreum ad tumulum: viridi quem cespite inanem,
Et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.
Ut me conspexit venientem, et Troia circum
Arma amens vidit; magnis exterrita monstris
Diriguit visu in medio: calor ossa reliquit.
Labitur; et longo vix tandem tempore fatur:
Verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers,

exquisite valedictory address to the young Ascanius, so pathetically described by the Mantuan bard:

Nec minus Andromache, digressu mœsta supremo
Fert picturatas auri subtemine vestes,
Et Phrygiam Ascanio clamydem; nec cedit honori;
Textilibusque onerat donis, ac talia fatur.
Accipe et hæc, manuum tibi quæ monumenta mearum
Sint, puer, et longum Andromachæ testentur amorem,
Conjugis Hectoreæ. Cape dona extrema tuorum,
O mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago:
Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat,
Et nunc æquali tecum pubesceret ævo.

As the wind fell, we only cleared the channel next morning, when the expanse of the Adriatic opened to our view, with the great Acroceraunian chain of mountains, so dreaded by sailors, stretching out its huge barrier into the waves: against its steep and precipitous side the whole force of the Adriatic beats furiously in a gale, and the unfortunate bark that is there caught by the tempest is inevitably lost, since there is not a port for the distance of fifty or sixty miles. Hence the poet calls these rocks,

Infames scopulos Acroceraunias.

They were at this time shining in bright ether without a single cloud from whence a thunderbolt could fall upon their scathed summits. We were now becalmed or had only very light breezes from the north-west, so that we spent the whole day within sight of the villages and fine cypress groves on the northern shore of Corfu, and in the evening were just able to beat up, by reason of the wind veering round a little, to the small island of Marlera, about three leagues

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Nate Dea? vivisne? aut, si lux alma recessit,
Hector ubi est? dixit, lacrimasque effudit, et omnem
Implevit clamore locum.
Æn. iii.

distant. Next morning, as the wind still continued unfavourable, we landed and pitched our tent upon the shore, and as it was the birth-day of our late excellent and revered King, we determined upon making a fête as far as circumstances would permit. I accordingly set out with Antonietti to the village, and admired as I went along the fine verdure in trees, vines, and shrubs, as well as the various flowers which were spread over the diversified surface of this beautiful little isle. The hills were cultivated to the very top, and the valleys afforded the most charming rural scenes, being every where interspersed with picturesque cottages, and exhibiting fine views of the sea, of the neighbouring islands, or of the Albanian coast. Whether this be Calypso's isle or not I will not pretend to determine, but it offers a fair claim to it from its picturesque appearance. We found the village small, but neatly built, and containing one handsome church. The people were extremely civil, and supplied us willingly with poultry, bread and excellent wine, with which we returned well loaded to the tent. There Antonietti exerted all his powers in the culinary art, the feast was spread out, the English standard hoisted at the mast head, and at the end of the first toast after dinner, which was "the King of Old England," one of the crew stationed in the boat fired off the twelve-pounder: this, however, was the occasion of great alarm to the poor peasants, who thought a Barbary corsair had landed its crew upon their shores, and set off scampering over the fields in all directions.

As we sat in our tent contemplating the verdant shores of Corcyra, which lay extended before us, and on which the French flag still waved, we could not help anticipating the happier destinies which seemed to await this and its sister Isles, under the liberal and powerful protection of our own country. These fair territories, blessed by the choicest gifts of nature, and adorned with every beauty that can attract the eye, have hitherto presented only a picture of internal misery throughout the several periods of modern history. During

the corrupt ages of the Eastern Empire they participated largely in those evils which generally attend the old age of power, suffering all the frightful calamities of barbaric invasions, and passing in rapid succession from the hands of one lord to those of another. Under the dominion of Venice, they were considered solely in the light of profitable appendages to that proud inquisitorial government which never treated any of her colonies either with prudence or with justice. Jealous of that talent and activity which distinguishes the Greeks, she endeavoured not only to destroy their moral virtues, but their national character and political union, altering their customs, abolishing their language, corrupting their literature, and by the most refined arts of Machiavelism extinguishing their emulation. Under the Venetian authorities, no public seminary was allowed to exist upon these shores, and the Greek language being prohibited in all public documents, the unfortunate natives were obliged to employ an interpreter in their own country.

The occupation of these islands by the French republicans did not tend to better their condition, when anarchy succeeded to servitude, scepticism to ignorance, and the example of a licentious soldiery to that of corrupt administrators of the laws. Under the military despotism of the French empire, although some evils were removed or alleviated, yet it was not to be expected that any great improvement, moral or physical, could take place, that any rational principles of civil liberty could be encouraged, or that the spirits of the people could recover their elasticity under the weight of military exactions and an expenditure very disproportionate to the national resources.

But the clouds which had so long hovered round these ill-fated shores, seemed now about to disperse, and the light of happiness to beam through their gloom. The cession of Corfu to the British arms which was daily expected, and the probable result of that cession in the re-establishment of the Septinsular government, under the protection of a

power noted for its integrity and philanthropy, was cheering to the soul that could sympathize in the calamities of an interesting people.

The prospects which on that day opened to our minds have been since happily fulfilled. The Septinsular government has acquired a political consistency and credit which it never before possessed, the foundations of its strength and prosperity are laid, its flag waves over the ocean, commerce spreads her treasures over its shores, and the establishment of a national University* promises to elicit once more the genius of its people and direct their susceptible faculties to the cultivation, not only of sentiment and taste, but the principles of sound philosophy.

This evening we slept on board, and as the wind changed to a more favourable point, we found ourselves, when the sun arose, in a higher latitude, nearly opposite Cape Languella, the extreme promontory of Acroceraunia, whence there is the shortest run to the Italian coast.

"Unde iter Italiam, cursusque brevissimus undis."

In mid channel it was interesting to view on one side the shores of Greece and on the other those of Italy, shores from whence the light of knowledge first beamed upon the west, where, to use the words of an elegant author, "History infuses a soul into nature and lights up her features with memory and imagination."

As we approached the Italian shore we observed the towers of Otranto rising, as it were, from the waves, upon that low coast which forms such

* In touching upon this subject, the author would consider it unpardonable to withhold the humble tribute of his applause to the generous and philanthropic exertions of that distinguished nobleman under whose auspices the Ionian University has been established, and who has been nominated its Chancellor. If the dedication of fortune, time, and talents to the alleviation of misery, and the counteraction of evil, amongst a people whose misfortunes are altogether singular in the history of the world, be a passport to universal approbation, the name of the Earl of Guilford will descend to posterity in the list of Benefactors to mankind.

a contrast with the dreaded Acroceraunian heights which we had just left.

> Jamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis
> Cum semel obscuros colles humilemque videmus
> Italiam.

With a fine breeze right astern we scudded over the waves and soon left Brindisi behind us. After this the country becomes extremely interesting, and exhibits a most lively picture. A fine range of low hills at the distance of about three leagues from the sea runs parallel with the coast for some hundred miles, the intermediate space being filled up with an extensive olive grove, thickly interspersed with white villas, churches, convents, and cities. At one spot I counted five apparently large towns within the range of view, some on the coast and others upon eminences, whose numerous towers and whited battlements formed a most agreeable contrast with the woody scenery: I never recollect seeing any large extent of country which appeared to possess so great a population as this part of Apulia.

During the night the wind fell, and the succeeding breeze from that point of the compass called Maestro was so unfavourable, that about mid-day we put back and ran into a small harbour near one of the large square towers which defend the whole line of coast against sudden attacks. I soon observed marks of great antiquity about this port, for the most part artificially formed, and was preparing to land, when I was suddenly hailed by a Neapolitan officer from a window in the tower, who reminded me that I was subject to the quarantine laws, which were at this time enforced with peculiar rigour. In the conversation which ensued, he inquired of what country we were, and informed us that he was himself an Englishman by birth, though bred up in Naples, and engaged in the service of its sovereign. This recognition of his countrymen inclined him to favour our wishes of landing, and he permitted us to pitch our tent on shore upon our

suggestion that he should place guards over us to prevent communication, whom we readily agreed to remunerate handsomely for their trouble.

No sooner had we set foot on land than we found ourselves surrounded by the ruins of a large city, which, after some inquiries respecting its distance from Brindisi, and the large city of Ostuni that appeared upon the brow of the nearest ridge of hills, we had no doubt was the ancient Egnatia, situated upon the great Appian way that led from Rome to Brundusium, in the territory of the Salentini, and noted for those juggling tricks of its priests which are ridiculed by Horace.

——Dein Gnatia lymphis
Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque;
Dum flamma sine, tura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit. Credat Judæus Apella
Non ego*. Lib. i. Sat. v. 96.

The town appears to have been nearly square, and the rock upon which it stood to have furnished the material for its edifices: we observed many large quarries, the sides of which had been afterwards excavated for sepulchral caverns, and turned into mural cemeteries: we entered into many of these chambers, and over some of the niches observed the figure of a cross cut in the rock between two Roman capitals in the following manner:

We found vast masses of foundations remaining over the whole site, as well as one edifice with a vaulted roof, whose shell was nearly perfect, and

* Pliny describes the miracle in rather different terms: "In Salentino oppido Egnatia, imposito *ligno* in Saxum quoddam ibi sacrum, protinus flammam existere. Lib. ii. c. 107." Probably all this wonder arose from some spiracle of mephitic gas which was easily inflamed.

very similar in form to what is called the temple of Minerva Medica at Rome. Farther to the south appears another small port, like the former, cut chiefly by art in the rock; into this a rivulet which ran through the city, pours its scanty tribute during the hot months of the year and a violent torrent in the rainy season. The banks of this stream are covered with the cistus and other shrubs, and the whole surface of the ground so swarms with beautiful animals of the lizard species that the passenger is at first almost afraid to put down his foot lest he should crush them: but the quickness of eye and rapidity of motion in this elegant little creature is quite surprising. Great numbers of the peasantry were scattered over the fields busily employed in the corn harvest: I accosted several of them but was unable to comprehend their uncouth dialect. Their manners appeared strangely uncivilized, and it is said they are not very courteous towards the unprotected traveller. But of all their peculiarities nothing struck us so forcibly as their apparel, the men wearing upon their heads a high peaked hat of white beaver, exactly similar to that with which the zany or fool in a company of mountebanks is decorated, and the women coiling up their long black hair in plaits, which they transfix with thin silver bars tipped at each end with knobs and small chains*, whilst rings of such enormous size hang suspended from their ears that an active harlequin would scarcely be able to abstain from trying his skill in taking a leap through their circumference.

We dined and slept under our tent, but were awakened in the middle of the night by a deputation of magistrates from Ostuni, who made regular visits to the watch-towers upon the coast to see that the quarantine laws were not broken: it was lucky for us

* This seems to be a very ancient fashion, vid. Mart. Epig. 24. lib. xiv.

Tænia ne mădidos violet bombycina crines
Figat acus tortas sustineatque comas.

that they found our sentinels on their post. About noon next day the wind became favourable and we again set sail. Early on the following morning we passed the towers of Bari, " Bari mœnia piscosi," as noted in modern as it was in ancient times for the excellence and abundance of its fish: it was interesting to observe a corroboration of Horace's account, in several little fleets of fishing boats, which we saw spreading their sails and steering for their respective stations. Between this place and Barletta we had a narrow escape from being captured by an Algerine xebec, which we descried in the distant horizon: as it often happens in these seas, she was becalmed, whilst we enjoyed a breeze that carried us at the rate of six or seven knots an hour. During our residence in the lazaretto we heard that she engaged and took a large Austrian merchantman from Trieste on this very day, and afterwards threw the whole coast of Apulia into consternation and misery by capturing a great quantity of fishing boats and carrying off the crews into captivity.

On the 9th of June we entered into the lazaretto of Barletta to perform a vexatious quarantine of forty days; as if one-third of that time were not more than sufficient to discover any lurking symptoms of the plague! At any other time than this we might have cut off two-thirds of our imprisonment by bribing the officers: but they happened just now to be under prosecution for an offence of this kind, in which they had been detected, and we were therefore doomed to undergo the full term allotted us. To shew however the insufficiency of quarantine laws in general, to prevent infection, I need only mention that many persons connected with the lazaretto freely associated with us, and some of them frequently dined at our table. It will be readily believed that time hung heavy enough upon our hands in this detestable prison as soon as the view of Mount Garganus, stretching his huge promontory into the Adriatic surge, lost its interest with its novelty; whilst the sound of distant merriment, proceeding from festivals during the delicious evenings of an Italian summer, served but to tantalize

and remind us of our loss of liberty. We had no reason however to complain of any want of civility in the officers of the lazaretto or the inhabitants of the town, several of whom sent us occasional presents of fruit, wine, curds, and various other delicacies. At length, after we had seen all the Neapolitan troops from Corfu perform their quarantine and depart, read through the entire works of Horace in his native province, viewed a tremendous thunder storm amidst the Daunian mountains, and a grand festival celebrated in honour of the Neptunian Nicolo in the harbour, we were released on the thirty-fourth day of our confinement, by an order from Naples under sign manual of the Duca di Gallo, to whom we addressed a memorial as soon as we knew that the quarantine of the soldiers, who came from the same quarter of the world as ourselves, was intended to be shortened.

Plain of Cannæ, called Pezzo di Sangue.

CHAPTER XV.

Release from Quarantine—Description of Barletta—Excursion to the Site of Cannæ—Cannosa—Church of St. Sabinus—Sepulchre of Bohemond—Ancient Tomb, Armour, and Vases discovered in an Excavation—Curious Mistake made by the Author and his Friend—Departure for Naples—Banditti—Ponte di Bovino—Settlements of Albanians—Naples—Rome—Florence—Passage over the Alps—Lyons—Paris—Arrival in England—Conclusion.

ON the morning of our exit from the lazaretto we were entertained at a very elegant dejeuné by an Italian gentleman who had shewn us many civilities during our confinement. We afterwards made an excursion round the fortifications and visited every thing worthy of observation within the city, which is extremely well built, though it has a decayed and desolate appearance. The monarchs of the House of Arragon once made this their place of residence to secure the allegiance of the province of Apulia, and Ferdinand I. caused himself to be crowned in its cathedral. Its name is said to be derived from bariletta, a little barrel, painted upon the sign-board of a solitary tavern or wine-house upon the high road, whither inhabitants resorted and laid

the foundations of a city after the ruin of Cannæ and Cannosa, two large towns in the vicinity. The principal curiosity of Barletta is a bronze statue of colossal size, being more than seventeen feet in height, erected in the piazza or market-place, and supposed to represent the Emperor Heraclius. It is in a standing posture, attired in the paludamentum or military cloak, and crowned with a diadem; the right hand is raised above the head and holds a crucifix, whilst the folds of the cloak, drawn across the breast, are thrown over the left arm: the execution is above mediocrity. The ship which is said to been conveying this image as a dedicatory offering to Saint Michael on his own Mount Garganus, was cast away opposite Barletta, and the statue lay for the space of nearly nine centuries buried in the sands, whence it was at last dug up in the year 1491 and fixed on its present site. Having roamed about the town with all the delight of newly acquired liberty, we adjourned in the evening to a conversazione at the house of Signore Cassiero our banker, a very worthy man, who lamented to us in bitter terms the absence of their lawful sovereign from his Neapolitan realms. No parties except those who held offices under government seemed to relish the dominion of King Joachim.

Next day we hired a carriage and made an excursion into the country, accompanied by Signore Giovanni Millar captain of the port, the governor of the lazaretto, and another Italian gentleman. Proceeding through the vineyards for a few miles north we arrived at the mouth of the Anfidus, now called Ofanto, celebrated by the pen of Horace, and the only river which flows through the Apennines, since it takes its rise on the side next the Etruscan Sea, but falls into the Adriatic*. Deflecting thence to the left we soon arrived at the site of Cannæ, "busto insignes nominis Romani," of which little now is left except its name. This city assumed some consequence in the early ages of Christianity, when it was made an episcopal see. It had fre-

* Polyb. l. iii. c. 110.

quent litigations with Barletta on account of their intervening territories; but these were decided by a partition of lands in 1284 by Charles I. Its ruin and abandonment took place about the time of the crusades, when the advantages of a maritime situation drew the inhabitants of the inland towns to the sea shore.

The first traces we discovered of Cannæ were a few subterranean reservoirs half full of water, by the road side, after which we soon arrived at the vaulted edifice represented in the plate, which is here given. It is built like all the ancient edifices and city walls which we saw on this coast, with oblong blocks of stone, scarcely equalling in size one-third of those generally employed on similar buildings in Grecia Propria: at the further end is a marble trough, which receives a copious discharge of transparent water.

Ancient Fountain at Cannæ.

This building is situated just below the eminence, or rising ground, upon which Cannæ was placed; thither we ascended and found all vestiges of that city obliterated by the ploughshare, except part of one solitary entrance into some public or private edifice. From hence there is a very extensive view over the fatal plain, or pezzo di sangue,

as it is now called, whose general appearance I have endeavoured to delineate in the vignette prefixed to this chapter*.

From Cannæ we proceeded about three miles in a direction nearly E. N. E. to the modern town of Cannosa, built upon the site as well as from the ruins of Canusium, that ancient city of Diomede†, which received the Roman fugitives in their disastrous flight. At this place one of the party had a brother-in-law, to whom he had sent notice of our arrival, and with whom he intended we should dine. Owing however to some family circumstances this visit was inconvenient: a different arrangement therefore was made, that gave occasion to a scene which, although it originated in a perfect mistake, I blush to think upon even at the present day. This shall be related in its proper place. In the mean time we walked about to survey the town, and were much struck by the great quantity of sepulchral monuments and other fragments of the ancient city, worked up and preserved in the walls of the modern habitations: this circumstance gives to the place a very antique and interesting appearance. The chief æra which saw Canusium flourish in opulence and magnificence, was that of Trajan and his immediate successors. This prosperity however only marked it out as a prey to the successive ravages of Goths, Vandals, Saracens, and Normans: its chief calamity was occasioned by a terrible conflagration when it was besieged by Duke Robert, who took the place by assault. In the year 1090 it fell into the possession of Bohemond son of Robert, the Ulysses, as he has been called, of the crusades, whom even Gibbon allows to have been a hero without fear or reproach: after he had been ejected from his inheritance by the intrigues of a mother-in-law and an uncle, he fought against the infidels

* It bore the same naked aspect at the time of the battle, for the Roman consul Æmilius prudently abstained from engaging the Carthaginians on account of the superiority which their cavalry would have upon such ground. Συνθεασάμενος ἐπιπέδους καὶ ψιλὰς ὄντας τὰς πέριξ τόπους. Polyb. l. iii. c. 110.

† Qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim. Hor. Sat. v. l. 1.

and founded a principality at Antioch in Syria, where he protected the adventurous crusaders and re-established the worship of the true God.

E fondar Boemondo al nuovo regno
Suo d'Antiochia alti principj mira:
E legge imporre, ed introdur costume
Ed arti, e'l culto di verace Nume.

This prince died and was buried at Cannosa in 1111.

During our perambulations we were joined by a very lively intelligent priest who with much good nature offered to be our cicerone. Under his guidance we proceeded to the ancient metropolitan church of St. Sabinus, said to have been founded in the 6th century, and which has been preserved safe through the calamities of so many ages. It is rich in marble and its roof is supported by six stupendous columns of verde antique. In a small area adjoining a church, stands a beautiful mausoleum which once covered the ashes of the accomplished Bohemond. It is built of marble in the form of an octagonal cupola, inscribed with gothic rhymes which I found too difficult to decypher, and adorned over the entrance with sculpture in relief, representing an assemblage of Christian knights in the attitude of kneeling before the Virgin. The virtues of this brave hero could not protect his remains against the envy and malice of a prince of Tarentum, who is said to have broken open the tomb in the year 1461, and left it in that dilapidated state in which it now appears.

From hence we descended into some vineyards below the town to see one of the greatest curiosities in this part of Italy, which had been discovered about a year before our arrival, whilst some workmen were excavating a wine vault in the tufa-rock. In forming the large chamber which gives light to some long subterranean galleries, they accidentally burst into a superb sepulchre, formed like an ancient Doric temple, with a fine angular roof, semi-

pilasters cut at the sides, and a regular entablature. The entrance, which had been artificially closed, was on the opposite side to that broken open. At one side of this mausoleum, upon the ground, lay the armour of some ancient hero, on several parts of which the gilding is said to have been plainly distinguishable; but the corpse was totally decayed.

At one end of the tomb stood three of the finest terra-cotta vases ever yet brought to light from their funereal receptacles: the largest is between four and five feet in height, upon which the labours of Hercules are beautifully pourtrayed: the next is three, and exhibits the adventures of the Argonautic exhibition: the last is two; but all were found filled with vases of smaller dimensions: at the other end of the tomb were two pedestals, cut from the rock, on one of which stood a wild boar, executed in a rough but spirited style, and on the other a dog very similar in appearance to the English mastiff. No one had formed a conjecture respecting the occupier of this superb sepulchre, which carried back the imagination to such remote ages of antiquity. Its magnificence might lead us to ascribe it even to the Homeric Diomede himself, the founder of the city; and this opinion might perhaps receive some confirmation from the appearance of its ornaments. Diomede was the son of Tydeus who was a conspicuous character at the famous chase of the Calydonian boar; and on the coins discovered at Arpi, the ancient Argyripa, founded also by Diomede, the figure of the boar is represented: we learn moreover from Julius Pollux that the people of Calydon themselves gave sepulchral honours to Aura the bitch of Atalanta which was killed by the monster*. It is worthy also of remark that the ornamental figures upon the vases relate to actions which took place prior to the age of Diomede.

The priest who acted as our guide had purchased these beautiful vases from the proprietor of the vault. But the fame of the discovery

*Ἔνδοξος δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀταλάντης κύων, Αὖρα τὄνομα, ἣν ὁ Καλυδώνιος σὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ κυνὸς σῆμα Καλυδωνίοις. Lib. v. c. 6.

was soon spread abroad, and having reached the ears of the court, an order was sent to bring them to the queen's repository at Naples, whilst the purchaser and seller were both condemned in large fines for concealing the property. A room in the royal palace was fitted up expressly for the reception of these precious relics, a sepulchre was constructed exactly similar to that in which they were discovered, the armour and vases were placed in their relative positions, and the figures of the dog and boar painted in high relief upon the walls.

From this tomb we returned into the city and were conducted to the most respectable looking mansion in the piazza. As we were ascending the grand flight of marble steps which led to the first floor, Signore Millar unfortunately made an observation respecting the excellence *of the hotel*, which we took literally, and naturally enough concluded that as it was inconvenient for the private family of our companion to receive us, that he would take us to a place of public entertainment. Under this impression my friend and myself agreed that it would be right in us to defray the expences of the feast, to which we invited our clerical conductor as well as an improvisatore who had also been accidentally introduced to us. Being met at the top of the staircase by the master of the house we passed him with a very slight notice of his ceremonious bows and proceeded straitway into the saloon: there we unceremoniously threw off our coats on account of the heat, and having ordered the children out of the apartment, who made too much noise for a hot day, we lay reclined at full length upon the chairs till we recovered from our fatigue. Mr. Parker then ordered the host to bring him water, soap and towels, when the poor man readily obeyed and with great good nature held the basin whilst the other washed his hands and face. He next had the mortification of hearing hopes expressed of a special good dinner, and a particular request that he would produce the best wines in his cellar, with various other observations which guests are in the habit of making when they wish to oblige a landlord, and act, as it is called, *for the good of the house*. It is surprising that our Italian friends did not stop us in this career, and I can only account for their

silence by supposing that they thought such manners were tolerated in England. Yet when they saw us invite the master of the house to sit down at his own table, where we took the chief seats and did the honours of the feast, and most especially when we ordered the improvisatore to commence operations and called up some itinerant musicians into the room, I wonder how even Italian urbanity and patience could have endured it. At length as the time approached for our return to Barletta, I arose and quietly beckoning the host out of the room, requested him privately to make out his bill, which I was desirous to discharge. Never shall I forget his expression of countenance at this proposal. With his hair all standing on end, and with an inconceivable shrug of the shoulders, he vehemently pronounced the word "bill" several times, till it seemed to stick in his throat and stop his utterance. A pause ensued, and I endeavoured to explain myself, when the poor man assured me that he had never made a bill in all his life, and that he was too happy at entertaining Englishmen in his house, if they would excuse his poor accommodations. The idea of some mistake now flashed across my mind; I requested to know whom I had the honour of addressing, and, to my perfect horror, was answered, the Prefect of the city. Confusion now tied up my tongue, for the excuse I had to offer seemed almost as bad as the conduct of which he had so much reason to complain: I therefore sent for Giovanni Millar, and having made him explain the origin of the mistake, I expressed in the strongest terms my knowledge of the language would permit our sorrow for conduct which must have had the appearance of extreme brutality, but which, if referred to the unfortunate cause, would I hope not appear inconsistent. The worthy prefect accepted this apology as politely as he had borne with our apparent rudeness, but still I never felt greater relief than when we stepped into the carriage and turned our backs upon the walls of Cannosa.

On the evening after this adventure we set out for Naples in a

strange kind of vehicle, which answers to our mail in carrying letters to and from the capital, but in form and convenience resembles much more a poulterer's cart. It is formed of wood, like a large square box, painted, slung upon thick leathern straps which pass over two rough axle-trees a foot each in diameter: it carries four inside and two outside passengers, the postilion sitting upon one of the wheel-horses and directing the leaders with a long whip. Such is the mail-coach system in Italy.

An occurrence had taken place connected with its very last journey which threw all the country into alarm, and made every one advise us to postpone our expedition, or even to proceed by sea to Naples. At a celebrated pass in the Apennines, called the Ponte di Bovino, a large corps of brigands, to the number of at least two hundred, concealed behind the rocks, fired a volley upon the carriage, killed the horses and postilion, burned all the letters, took out an unfortunate officer, whom they shot on the spot, and carried away a still more unfortunate female passenger to their haunts in the mountains. Mementos of this outrage presented themselves to our eyes in the numerous musket-balls which were at this time sticking in the body of the machine; but we judged it most expedient to proceed on our expedition immediately after the commission of such an act, since it was not very likely that it would be soon repeated. We were not a little amused during the journey by the terrors of our Italian companions on this subject, and when we arrived at the fatal pass, their reason seemed to be quite overcome by their fears, which were not a little increased by a terrific thunder-storm whose echoes were reverberated in the grandest manner possible among the rocks and valleys. We staid at the post-house two hours before the storm abated, during the whole of which time we had to contend with the almost frantic demands of our fellow-travellers to the condottore, that he would put eight horses to the vehicle and proceed at full gallop through the defile, which is twelve miles in length, affording scarcely room for two carriages to pass.

It was in vain we urged the impossibility of avoiding musket-balls by an increased velocity of motion, or the probability of attracting the notice of banditti by the appearance of such extraordinary haste and precaution: they still persisted in their vehement exclamations and exhortations to the guard, who was about to yield, when we then declared in our turn that we would not proceed in the manner proposed, and threatened him with an information at the police-office on our arrival at Naples.

This declaration of ours co-operating with the expectation of a better fee from Englishmen than he was likely to obtain from his own countrymen, determined the condottore to make no alteration in the mode of conveyance, and when the storm was abated we proceeded through this terrific pass. In about half an hour we arrived at the spot where the late attack had been made, and observed one of the horses lying by the road-side, with its flesh already half stripped from the carcass by birds of prey. As for the banditti, we saw none of them except a few wretches bound with cords, in custody of the peasants, who, after this last outrage, had collected together in large bodies, headed by their priests, dispersed the villains from their haunts, taken several prisoners, and rescued the captive lady, much to the credit of Italian gallantry.

About mid-way in the pass we changed horses at a large solitary post-house, where we observed several persons, both men and women, dressed in very strange attire, and speaking a most extraordinary unintelligible dialect. Antonietti, who has a great facility in acquiring the knowledge and sound of languages, soon discovered the Albanese to be the root of this jargon, and upon inquiry we found that several towns and villages, some of which we saw upon the opposite heights, were chiefly peopled with Albanian colonists who had preserved their customs and language in these wild mountains of Apulia.

The origin of their settlement is thus accounted for. A very strict alliance and intimate friendship had always subsisted between the

great Scanderbeg and Alfonso King of Naples, the latter of whom constantly assisted the Prince of Epirus with supplies of men and ammunition in his contests against the Turks*. On the death of Alfonso his son Ferdinand being driven by foreign and domestic enemies from his capital, fled to Barletta, where he was in imminent danger from the French armies which surrounded him. He was delivered from these perils and recovered his throne against his competitor John of Anjou, chiefly through the valour of Scanderbeg, who brought over the flower of the Epirotic forces to his assistance: in gratitude for which services, the Neapolitan monarch gave to Scanderbeg, as the old history of that prince expresses it, "inestimable treasures, horses barbed, proude and rich caparizons and such like presents fit for knights and men of arms, of singular prise and estimation: also the city of *Trana* and two other noble and strong places in *Apulia;* one of the which was the Mount *Gargan*, commonly called Saint *Angell*, where is seated the famous towne of *Sypont*, and the venerable church consecrated to the honour of Saint *Michaell* upon the sea *Adriaticke;* the other was Saint *John de Ronde*, all which places with their territories he granted unto *Scanderbeg* and his heires for ever: and he ratified and confirmed his sayed gift and graunt by good and authenticall writings and charters†."

After the death of Scanderbeg and the conquest of Epirus by the Turks, John Castriot, his son and successor, fled to Naples, where he was most kindly received, whilst to his followers were assigned portions of land in Calabria, with a freedom from taxes and other immunities. To the time of Charles V. Albanian Greeks came and established themselves in these provinces, where they still remain unmixed with the natives, retaining the peculiar customs of their country, and in some instances the rites of the Greek religion, though for the most part they have been, by persuasion or compulsion, brought over to the

* See page 260 of this volume.

† Hist. of Scanderbeg by Lavardin, translated into English. London, 1596.

church of Rome. They are considered a quiet industrious set of people, addicted solely to agricultural or pastoral pursuits, and paying the most decided reverence to their priests.

Having passed safely through this terrific defile, we had only one more cause of alarm during the journey, which arose from the carriage being nearly pitched down a precipice. I am surprised that the extraordinary mode of driving adopted in this country does not lead to such accidents more frequently. After having undergone exquisite tortures in this detestable machine for two nights and the intervening day, we were deposited on the second morning at Naples, scarcely able to walk from the soreness of our limbs, having been actually obliged to tie tight bandages round our bodies to prevent a dislocation of joints.

At Naples we remained ten days, which were delightfully spent in excursions about its interesting coasts, in the ascent of its volcanic mountain, and in visits to Herculaneum and Pompeii, those ancient cities so curiously preserved to modern times by the very means which appeared to be their destruction. I shall not however attempt to swell my pages with a description of these scenes, since I am not conscious of possessing any information that might elucidate, or powers of language that might adorn them, more than has been already done by preceding travellers. At this time Murat and the sister of Buonaparte were seated on the throne of Naples. As we did not think proper to be presented, we satisfied our curiosity by viewing these exalted personages, surrounded by their court, at high mass in the royal chapel. The music was delightful; but it would be the height of inconsistency to connect this ceremony with any sentiments of devotion: it appeared more like a fashionable morning concert, where no attention was paid to what was going forward, not even to the music: there were no prayers, no participation even in outward ceremony; talking and laughing seemed the order of the day, whilst all religious observances fell to the vicarious service of the priests. King Joachim appeared to

me, as he has been represented by others, a coarse vulgar man, possessed of courage and good nature; but his consort looked as if she had been born a queen: two sons who stood at their side resembled the father more than the mother in personal appearance. We entered very little into the society or public amusements of Naples, the short time of our residence being fully occupied on subjects of much greater interest. At length, having met with a very agreeable companion in one of our own countrymen who was anxious to visit Florence, we left the shores of Parthenope on a delightful evening in the latter end of July. We put our servant into Mr. Synge's carriage and took that gentleman into our own, which was built upon a most commodious plan, and happened to be the identical vehicle which brought King Joseph Buonaparte from Paris to Naples: we took it back to the very confines of France; but if we had then known the value attached to carriages of that royal house, we should probably have transported it across the channel. We were more than two nights and a day in posting to Rome, owing to accidents of various kinds: to one of these however we were indebted in a singular manner for our preservation. At a post-house between Capua and Mola, just as the postilions were bringing out our horses, an Austrian courier, decked in as much gold lace as a Neapolitan duke, came up, and in an authoritative tone ordered the animals to be put to his own carriage: all remonstrance was in vain; an officer attached to government takes precedence of any other individual in such cases, and we saw the gentleman depart whilst we were obliged to wait full two hours until other horses could be procured. Scarcely however had he proceeded two miles from the posthouse when he was attacked by a gang of robbers on the road, pillaged of all his property, and left half dead from the wounds he received. On our arrival at Rome we found the poor fellow in a most dangerous state and left him so at our departure.

Having escaped this danger as well as the malaria of the Pontine marshes, we arrived at sun-rise on the Alban Mount, and then first

came in view of the Eternal City, that "Sceptred Queen," and mistress of the ancient world. In a few more hours we passed over the Campagna, alighted at the hotel in the Piazza di Spagna, and from thence proceeded instantly to St. Peter's. Urgent business demanding the attendance of Mr. Parker in England, we could give only four days to the inspection of this interesting capital, the asylum of unfortunate greatness, the refuge of dethroned power, whose mournful ruins casting a gloom over the splendour of its modern edifices, strongly point out the vanity of all human grandeur and sooth the bitterness of human calamity. "Rome," says the elegant authoress of Corinne, "Rome depuis long-temps est l'asile des exilés du monde; Rome elle même n'est elle pas détronée! son aspect console les rois depouillés comme elle." Rome had only a short time before our arrival recovered her venerable pontiff. It was notified to us that in two days he intended to hold his first levee and we determined to offer our congratulations to his Holiness upon so happy an occasion. In the mean time we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with our old friend Mr. Fiott Lee, who like the wandering Ulysses had not yet arrived at his native isle; in the company of that gentleman we visited the objects of greatest interest, and laboured so well in our vocation that I have no doubt we saw as much in four days as some persons have seen in as many weeks. The splendour of modern Rome triumphs over the interest excited by its ancient ruins; at least this was the case with us, for we spent more than half our time within the walls of St. Peter's and the Vatican.

On the fourth and last morning of our sojourn we were introduced, or rather we introduced ourselves to the Pope on the first court-day, as I before observed, which the holy Father had appointed since his return. Having put four black horses to our carriage and taken a whole train of lacqueys into our service, we proceeded to the pontifical palace on Monte Cavallo, were saluted by the old Swiss guards, and advanced into the great hall. This and the whole suite of apartments were filled with cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and priests of all degrees, dressed

in their most splendid robes, but all in confusion. No one seemed to know his place and station, or the business for which he came; but all were running about from room to room and treading upon each other's heels.

Mr. Fagan, late English consul, had given his Holiness notice of our intended introduction, but by reason of a sudden illness was unable to present us. Mr. Fiott Lee having already had a private audience did not accompany us, so that we set out upon this adventure alone and unattended. The crowd of clerical courtiers all stared at us on our entrance with a certain air of astonishment, but as they freely gave way, we marched without interruption to the door of the presence chamber, where a considerable number of the highest dignitaries were assembled: here we were stopped, until a young page, in a dress more like that of a girl than a boy, informed his Holiness of our arrival. In a short time the door opened; we entered and reverently saluted the Sovereign Pontiff, who was seated, in very plain attire, upon a lofty seat within a raised gallery. His Holiness, with great condescension, came down the steps, took us all affectionately by the hand and gave us his blessing in the most gentle, pious, unaffected manner possible: after this he entered into familiar conversation, standing with us on the floor of the apartment and holding my hand, as the chief spokesman, clasped between his own. After we had expressed our cordial sentiments of congratulation upon his happy return, and had listened with no small degree of pride to the unfeigned expressions of gratitude which this venerable and dignified personage bestowed upon our country, to whose exertions under Providence he was pleased to attribute that return, we talked for a long time upon general subjects, but especially upon our travels, in which the Pope appeared to take considerable interest. He asked many questions concerning the state of Turkey and the modern Greeks, as well as the splendid ruins of Athens; but he inquired more particularly about Spain and the events which we had wit-

nessed in that quarter of the world. Mr. Synge having been engaged in several Spanish campaigns as honorary aide-de-camp to General Pack, and having but recently quitted the country, was enabled to gratify his Holiness with many circumstantial and interesting details. The whole of our conference occupied more than half an hour, during which time the Pope continued to stand, expressing himself in a mild unassuming manner, not merely asking questions and receiving answers, but encouraging us to enter with ease and freedom into a mutual communication of ideas. At our departure his Holiness again gave us his blessing, and it was not without sentiments of sincere respect that we left this amiable man, apparently as little elated by returning prosperity as he had been depressed by unmerited calamity.

After this audience we had an interview with Cardinal Paca, who had been appointed pro-secretary of state in the absence of Gonsalvi. The manners of the minister were different from those of the pontiff, the one being characterised by all the elegance and ease of the complete man of the world, whilst the other was principally remarkable for his air of primitive simplicity. After this visit we proceeded to contemplate the superb horses of Phidias and Praxiteles upon Monte Cavallo; from whence we adjourned to inspect the papal stud, where Mr. Parker set the whole stable in a roar of laughter, by asking to see the Pope's favourite hunter: the chief groom, however, conducted the inquirer to a fine white mule, called Il santo Mulo, upon which the holy Father rides in solemn processions. From hence we returned to our hotel, visited Saint Peter's for the last time in the evening, and next morning bid adieu to Rome.

We took what is called the upper road to Florence, for the purpose of visiting the magnificent fall of the Velino near Terni, which, like most waterfalls, greatly disappoints curiosity. We were however amply recompensed by the exquisite scenery around Perugia and that beautiful luxuriant valley,

Quà formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco
Integit et niveos abluit undaboves.

Our classical enthusiasm was soon afterwards excited in a still stronger degree by the Lake of Thrasymene, and at Arezzo every chord of sympathy vibrated at the recollection of the tender Petrarch. In this latter place we arrived at the close of a lovely evening: the town itself possesses no interest besides that which is connected with the fame of its poet, yet we fully expected that we should have been obliged to spend the night within its walls, because the post-master positively refused to give us horses; and that for a reason which the reader would not easily guess. The banditti upon the road forsooth were so numerous that he expected they would be shot! Our safety never once entered into his contemplation: the lives of heretics were of little consequence: but those of horses were very valuable—to their master. As our plans however were decided for travelling day and night, we resolved not to spare his cattle: accordingly we repaired, as we had occasion to do in many instances, to the prefect of the city and procured an impress-warrant for the horses with which we immediately departed. Luckily for the post-master, and possibly for ourselves, we were soon overtaken by an Austrian patrole and convoyed through the most dangerous part of the road, after which we arrived without any accident at Florence.

Here we intended to stay only two days, but were detained a third, by a misfortune which occurred to Mr. Parker, from whom a packet was stolen containing a small but exquisite collection of medals and gems which he had made during his Grecian tour. Luckily we remembered the impressions and legends of these antiques so well that we were able to write out two tolerably complete lists, one of which we left at the office of Justice and the other with Signore Sanbellino, the master of the hotel Nouvelle York, whose exertions in their recovery were unremitting and successful: they were purloined by a Jew who came into the room to drive a bargain with Antonietti, and I mention this circumstance for the sake of putting travellers on their guard against personages of that description. Here we parted with great re-

gret from our companion and proceeded over the Apennines, through Bologna, Parma, Piacenza, and Alessandria, to the capital of Piedmonte. In this beautiful city we remained two days and then commenced our passage over the Alps by the grand road of Mount Cenis. All the mountains which we had hitherto beheld sunk when compared in magnitude with the Alpine barrier of Italy; but the features even of this did not appear more striking or picturesque than those of the fine Albanian chains which we had lately quitted. On the road and indeed throughout the whole of northern Italy, we had a series of escapes which now appear almost miraculous. Nearly at every step of this route we met the disbanded soldiers of Buonaparte's armies, sometimes single, sometimes in small companies, and at other times in very large bodies. Accustomed as these men had been for so many years to the most bloody deeds and the most licentious rapine, we have great reason to bless Providence for our safety.

The next resting place was Lyons, where Mr. Parker, who had omitted to lock his bed-room door, was again robbed in the night, as well as Antonietti, who lost a gold repeater. Here we heard Frenchmen claim the victory at Thoulouse, and saw the bankers' counting-houses full of English guineas. From Lyons we traversed the dull monotonous plains of Burgundy and Champagne, without any intermission, till we arrived in Paris. Even there we staid but one day to take a transient view of the gloriés of the Louvre, and then set out for Calais, where we arrived in safety, and feasted our eyes with a distant prospect of our native shores. Upon those shores we landed next day, and regretted no more the brilliant sun of Greece, her purple vineyards, and her myrtle groves: for there is a secret charm in the name of our Country which depends not upon external associations, upon the magnificence of mountain scenery, or the fertility of verdant plains: this amidst the venerable ruins of antiquity or the wild grandeur of an untrodden soil, this brings us back in thought, and chains down our souls to that land where we first awoke to human

sympathies, first heard the accents of benevolence, and experienced the endearments of parental love; where intellectual light first dawned upon our minds, to teach us the advantages of social union and the real blessings of constitutional liberty; where we first raised our hearts in gratitude to the Giver of all good and joined in the public worship of our Creator. There the glory of our ancestors reposes, and there we hope that we ourselves shall sink to rest.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

AN INSCRIPTION ON THE HAN OF VALIARÈ;

AND

A TRANSLATION INTO ROMAIC

OF

LORD WELLINGTON'S DISPATCH ON THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO,

EXTRACTED FROM AN IONIAN GAZETTE.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

VERSES ON THE HAN OF VALIARE.

Στίχοι περὶ τῶν ἰδίων· Τὸ χάνι Βαλιαρὲ ὁμιλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἑξακοσίους σκοτωμένους Γαρδικιώτας.

Πάντοτε τρέχει ὁ Καιρὸς ποτὲ δεν ἡσυχάζει
Τὰ πράγματα τὰ κοσμικὰ ὀγλήγορα τἀλλάζει
Εἰς μερικοὺς πολλαῖς φοραῖς φέρει τὴν ἐντυχίαν
Κ' εἰς ἄλλους τὸ ἐνάντιον μεγάλην δυστυχίαν
Εἶχα ἐγὼ πρωτήτερα τᾶις πόρταις ἀνοιγμέναις
Μὰ τώρα τὸ ἐνάντιον τᾶις βλέπω σφαλισμέναις
Εἰς ὅλους ἤμουν πρόθυμος, 'να τοὺς εὐχαριστήσω
Διαβάταις καὶ ἐπίλοιπους, μήπως καὶ εὐτυχήσω.
'Αλλ' ὅταν ἤλθεταν ἐσεῖς ὅλοι μαζὶ 'να 'μβῆτε,
Πῶς; ω καὶ τὶ ἐπάθεταν, μὸνον 'να κατοικήτε
Τᾶις πόρταισμου ἐκλείσεταν, καὶ την φιλοξενίαν
Τι ἦτον; καὶ πὼς ἔγινεν; ἔιμαι εἰς ἀπορίαν.

Α'ποκρίνονται οἱ σκοτωμένοι εἰς τὸ βαλιαρὲ τὸ χὰνι.

'Αλήπασας μὰς ἤφερε χωρὶς τὸ θέλημάμας
'Να 'πάρῃ την ἐκδίκησιν ἐις τὰ σφάλματάμας
'Ο μέγας τε καὶ φρόνιμος ἀπὸ τοὺς βεζυράδες
'Αυτὸς ὁπου ἐτρόμαξε βέιδες καὶ πασάδες
"Οποιος 'να φταῖξῃ εἰς αὐτὸν, δικάιως τὸν παιδεύει
Καὶ μὲ δουφέκι καὶ σπαθὶ γλήγορα τὸν φονεύει.

VERSI Greco-volgari sulli stessi (Gardikioti) il Chan (Osteria) di Valiaré parla ai seicento occisi Gardikioti.

Sempre il tempo corre e mai non si arresta
E presto cambia gli affari del mondo,
Ad altri spesso fortuna arreca
E ad altri l'opposto, miserie grandi.
Le porte aperte io avevo prima,
Non più adesso, ma barricate le vedo.
Ognun aggradir sempre io era pronto,
Passanti ed altri, sperando di farmi felice.
Ma quando voi veniste ad entrare in folla
E come? e qual disgrazia? per alloggiare soltanto
Chiudeste le mie porte e l' ospitalità insieme
Cosa e come questo fù? io ignoro affatto.

Rispondono i Occisi.

Il Visir Alipascia ci menò a nostro malgrado
Per tirar vendetta delle nostre offese.
Quel grande e saggio sopra i Visiri,
Quel che terror gia fù di Pascià e di Bè
Giustamente egli punisce chi reo dinanzi a lui appaja;
O con fucile, o con spada ad un momento l'occide

'Οντζάκι Μουτζοχυσάπικον 'ποιος θέλει 'να χαλάσῃ
'Αυτὸς 'να ἦναι βέβαιος τὸν βίον θέλει χάσῃ
'Οπόταν ὁ 'Αλήπασας ἦτον μικρὸ παιδάκι
"Ολοι ἡμεῖς ἐτρέξαμεν εἰς τὸ λαμπρὸν 'Οντζάκι
"Ορ' ὀρφανὸς ἀπόμεινεν ἀπ' τὸν ἀντοῦ πατέρα.
Δὲν ἔιχεν ἄλλον ἀδελφον μὰ μόνον τὴν μητέρα·
'Πήγαμεν 'να τὸν κόψωμεν μὲ τἄρματα 'ς τὸ χέρι
Καὶ ἀντὸς ὡς ἐπιτήδειος ἐπῆρε τὸ χαμπέρι
Καὶ βλέποντας πὼς ἔφυγε κτυπούσαμεν τὰ στήθια
'Σ τὴν Κάργιανην ὑπήγαμεν τοῦ κάψαμεν τὰ σπήτια
Καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν εἶναι πενῆντα χρόνοι
Καὶ κάμνει τὴν ἀνταμοιβην' τὼρα τὴν τελειόνει
Διὰ τῦτο μὰς ἐσκότωσεν ἐμᾶς ἐδῶ 'ς τὸ χάνι
"Οπου ἀντὸς ὁ φόνος μας μές' τὸν δουνλὰν 'να πάνῃ
Τοὺς πρώτους καὶ μεγάλυσμας 'ς τὰ Ιάννινα τὲς φέρνει
Τοὺς στέλνει πέρα 'ς τὸ νησὶ εὐθὺς καὶ τοὺς φονεύει
Καὶ σκόρπισε τᾶις φαμιλιᾶις, εἰς ὅλυς τοὺς Καζάδες
Νέαις τε καὶ γερόντισσαις παιδία τε καὶ νυμφάδες
Καὶ πατρίδα τὴν δυστυχῆ ἀνάποδα γυρίζει
"Ενγαλε τὰ θεμέλια ὅλην τὴν ἀφανίζει
'Επρόσταξε παντοτινὰ κανεὶς μὴ κατοικήσῃ
'Να μεὶνῃ ἔτσι ἔρημος ὁδεὶς 'να μὴν τὴν κτίσῃ
Τὸ Σούτζι ὁπου κάμαμεν δικαίως τὴν ῥημόνει
Διότ' ειναι δίκαιος πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἀνταπλερόνει
"Ομως ἐσὺ 'ς τὸ ἔνδοξον καὶ παλαιὸν χυσμέτι
'Ετῦτο 'που σοὺ λέγομεν 'να τὸ ἔχῃς ἀμανέτι
'Να συμβουλεύῃς παστρικὰ 'να δίδῃς τὸ χαμπέρι
'Οπου 'ς τὸ τζάκι τὸ λαμπρὸν 'να μὴ σηκώσουν χέρι
Συμβούλευε μὲ τοχασμὸν ὅσους ἐδῶ διαβαίνουν
'Να τὸ κηρύξουν καὶ ἀντοὶ ὅπου καὶ ἂν πηγαίνουν
Διὰ 'να μὴ πάθουν καὶ ἀντοὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐμεῖς τώρα
'Οπου μὰς ἐσκότωσεν εὐθὺς εἰς μίαν ὥραν
Καθὼς ποτὲ τὸ ἔπαθαν καὶ Χορμοβίται ἐκεῖνοι
'Να τοὺς σκοτώσουν πρόσταξε κανεὶς 'να μὴ 'πομείνῃ.

E chiunque la casa di Mutzochuso offenda
Sicuro egli sia che perderà la vita
Noi, mentre Alipascia era un piccolo fanciullo
Tutti corremmo contro la sua splendida casa
Perche, morto il padre, Orfano egli rimase
E non aveva fratello, se non sola la madre:
Noi andammo tagliarlo, colle armi in mano
Ma lui accorto ne prese avviso
E noi scappar lo vedendo ci battemmo il petto;
A Karghiani andammo, ed ivi gli abrucciammo le case.
E da quel tempo ormai cinquant' anni sono
E ne fa la ricompensa adesso,
Onde ci massacrò in quest' Osteria
Affinche nostra strage tutto 'l mondo pervada.
A Giannina indi porta i nostri capi e grandi
All' isola opposta gli manda, e fa occiderli presto
E le famiglie disparge per tutti i distretti
Donne Giovani e Vecchie, donzelle e fanciulli
E sassopra mette la patria infelice
Ne scava i fundamenti e tutta la rade:
Ordine diede che niuno vi possa mai abitare;
Che sia un deserto, e nissun fabricar la ardisca
Per il nostro delitto è, che lui con ragion la divasta
Perchè egli è giusto assai, e lo ripaga
Ma tu per quell antico e glorioso servigio
Tieni in pegno queste nostre parole
Dà consiglj chiari, dà sempre avvisi
Che contro la splendida casa nissuno insorga
Ed avverti da senno tutti i passanti
Dichiarar lo a tutti quei, che passano mai
Per non aver soffrire quanto noi adesso,
Che Ali ci diede morte subito in un istante,
E quanto anche i Chormoviti, quelli gia noti
Ch' occisi fossero volle, e vivo nissun restasse.

Ἐκ μέρους τοῦ ὑπερτάτου Βεζύρη 'Αλήπασα πρὸς τοὺς γειτόνους του.

Da parte del eccellentissimo Vezir Alipascia ai suoi Vicini.

Ἐγὼ βεζὺρ 'Αλήπασας ὁπόταν εὐθυμῶμαι
Αὐτὸν τὸν μέγαν σκοτωμὸν κατὰπολλὰ λυποῦμαι
Πλέον παρόμοιον κακὸν ποτέμου 'δὲν τὸ θέλω
Διὰ τῦτο τοὺς γειτόνυς μου ὅλυς τοὺς παραγγέλω

Io Alipascia Vizir quando mi viene in mente
Questo gran massacro m' affligo molto
E di un tal guasto non avrò più mai desio
Ed è perciò che raccomando a tutti i vicini miei

Που πλέον τὸ Ὀτζάκιμου 'να μή κακὸ ποιήσουν
Αλλὰ 'να ὑποτάσσωνται διὰ 'να ἐντοχήσουν
Καὶ ὅσοι φανοῦν ὑπήκοοι καὶ 'να τὸ ἀγαπήσουν
Αὐτοὶ 'να ἦναι βέβαιοι πολλὰ καλὰ 'να ζήσουν
Εἰς τοὺς χιλίους δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἑξακοσίους
Ἔγινε τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀθλίους
Εἰς δεκαπέντε τοῦ Μαρτίου, Παρασκευὴν ἡμέραν
Τὸ δειλινὸν αὐτοῦ κονδὰ ἦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν.

Che non molestino più la mia propria casa
Ma che ne sian soggetti se vogliono esser felici
E quei che obbedienti vedransi, ed affezionati ad essa
Sian certi che molto felice passeranno la vita
Nel mille e dodici con seicento insieme
Tal strage avvenne a questi infelici
Nei quindici di Marzo, Venerdi era il giorno
Verso occidente inclinava il sole, s'avvicinava la sera.

Spiegazione di pochi termini turchi che
Occorrono in questa inscrizione.

Ὀτζάκι ovvero Ὀντζάκι.] Propriamente significa il cammino, quel luogo della casa dove si fà il fuoco: si prende però per dinotar tutta la casa o famiglia di Grandi in Turchia.

Μουτζοχουσάτικον.] Cioè di Mutzo-Chuso il quale era l' avolo di Alipascia per qual nome si conosce tra gli Albanesi la sua famiglia.

Χαμπέρι.] Notizia, avviso.

Δουνιὰ ovvero ντουνγιὰ.] Parola Araba, significa l' universo, ed il mondo.

Καζάδες.] Καζὰς Cazà, in Turchia si chiama un distretto di qualque provincia grande.

Σούτζι.] Delitto, fallo.

Χουσμέτι.] Servizio.

Ἀμανέτι.] Pegno.

No. II.

[As it has now become a custom to give a Specimen of the Romaic Language, or Modern Greek, in the Appendix to Grecian Travels, I here present the reader with a Translation of Lord Wellington's Dispatch on the Battle of Waterloo, extracted from an Ionian Gazette, published at Corfu.]

ΔΟΟΥΝΙΝΓ-ΣΤΡΕΕΤ.

Ο Τιμιώτατος Μαγγιόρος Εβρῖκος Περσῆ ἔφθασεν ἐχθὲς πρὸς τὸ ἑστέρας, φέρων ἕνα ἐξ Οφφικίου γράμμα τοῦ Αρχιστρατήγου Δουκὸς Ουέλλινγτον, Ιππέως ἐκ τοῦ Τάγματος τοῦ Γκάρτερ, πρὸς τὸν Κόμητα Βαθοὺρστ, πρῶτον ἐξ Απορρήτων τῆς Επικρατείας τῆς Α. Μ. εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦ πολέμου ἐπιστατοῦν Οφφίκιον. τὸ ἀντίγραφον λοιπὸν τούτου εἶναι τὸ ἀκόλουθον.

Ουατερλοον, 19 Ιουνίου, 1815.

Μιλόρδ! Αφ' οὗ ὁ Βοναπάρτες συνήθροισε τὸ 1. 2. 3. 4. καὶ 6. σῶμα τοῦ Γαλλικοὺ Στρατεύματος, τὴν Αὐτοκρατορικὴν φρουρὰν, καὶ ὅλον τὸ ἱππικον του σχεδὸν, ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν ὄχθην τοῦ ποτ: Σάμβρα, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Ποταμοῦ τούτου καὶ τοῦ Μόζα, ἀπὸ τὰς 10 τοῦ τρέχοντος ἕως τὰς 14, τὰς 15 πρὸς τὰ ξημερώματα ἐπροχώρησε καὶ ἐκτύπησε τὰς τοποστασίας τῶν Προύσσων εἰς τὸ Τοῦϊν καὶ Λόβετζ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποτ: Σαμβραν.

Εγὼ ἔλαβον τὴν εἴδησιν ταύτην τὰς 15 πρὸς τὸ ἑσπέρας, καὶ ἐδιόρισα ἀμέσως τὰ στρατεύματα νὰ ἑτοιμασθῶσι πρὸς ἐκστρατείαν. ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὁποῦ ἤκουσα, ὅτι ἡ ἀληθὴς ἔφοδος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διευθύνετο πρὸς τὸ Σαρλεροᾶ, ἐγὼ ἐδιόρισα τὰ στρατεύματάμας νὰ κινηθῶσι κατὰ τὰ ἀριστερά: ὁ ἐχθρὸς λοιπὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐδίωξε τοὺς Προύσσους ἀπὸ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποτ: Σάμβρα, καὶ ὁ Στρατηγὸς Ζεῖθεν, ὅς τις ὡδηγοῦσε τὰ σώματα, ὅσα πρότερον εὑρίσκοντο εἰς τὸ Σαρλεροᾶ, ἀπετραβίχθη πρὸς τὸ Φλέουρους. Ο Στρατάρχης Βλοῦσσερ ἐσύναξε τὸ στράτευμα εἰς ἕν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Σομβρεφ, ἔχων τὰ χωρία τοῦ Αγ: Αμὰνδ καὶ τὸ Λινῆ ἀπέναντι τῆς τοποστασίας του.

Ο ἐχθρὸς ἐξηκολούθησε τὴν ἐκστρατείαν του πρὸς τὸν δρόμον τὸν ἀπὸ τὸ Σαρλεροᾶ πρὸς τὴν Βρουξέλλην, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἑσπέρας τῶν 15 ἐκτύπησε μίαν σπείραν τοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν Κάτω-Χωρῶν, ἡ ὁποία

ὡδηγεῖτο ἀπὸ τὸν Πρίγγιπα τοῦ Βέϊμαρ, καὶ ἦτον στρατοπεδευμένη εἰς τὸ Φράσνε, καὶ τὴν ἠνάγκασε νὰ ὑποχωρήσῃ πρὸς ἕνα ὑποστατικὸν κείμενον ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν ἴδιον αὐτὸν δρόμον, καὶ καλούμενον Κουάτρε Βράς.

Ο Πρίγκιψ τοῦ Οράνζ ἐνεδυνάμωσεν ἀμέσως τὴν σπείραν ταύτην μὲ μίαν ἄλλην ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας Φάλαγγος, ἡ ὁποία ὡδηγεῖτο ἀπὸ τὸν Στρατηγὸν Πέρπονκετ, καὶ τὴν αὐγὴν τῷ πρωΐ αὐτὴ ἔλαβεν ὀπίσω ἕνα μέρος τῆς τοποθεσίας ὁποῦ ἔχασεν, εἰς τρόπον ὅτι κατησφαλίσθη πάλιν ἡ ἀνταπόκρισις ἡ διὰ τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Νιβέλλης πρὸς τὴν Βρουξέλλην, μὲ τὴν Τοποσασίαν τοῦ Στρατάρχου Βλοῦσσερ.

Ὡς τόσον ἐγὼ διεύθυνον ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τὸ Κουάτρε-Βρὰς, καὶ ἡ πέμπτη φαλαγγαρχία ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδηγίαν τοῦ Αντιστρατήγου Σὲρ Θωμᾶς Πίκτον ἔφθασεν ἐκεῖ περὶ τὰς δύω ὥρας καὶ μεσὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, ἀκολούθως ἔφθασε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν σῶμα τοῦ Δουκὸς τοῦ Βρουνσβὶκ, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον στρατιωτικὸν μέρος τῆς Νασσοβίας.

Εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄρχισε νὰ κτυπᾷ τὸν Πρίγγιπα Βλοῦσσερ μὲ ὅλας του τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐξαιρουμένων τοῦ πρώτου καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου σώματος, καὶ ἑνὸς σώματος ἱππικοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδηγίαν τοῦ Κυρίου Στρατηγοῦ Κέλλερμαν, μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα ἐκτύπησε τὴν ἐδικήν μας τοποθεσίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κουάτρε-Βράς.

Τὸ Προυσσικὸν Στράτευμα ἐδιαυθέντευσε τὴν Τοποσασίαν του μὲ τὴν συνήθητου ἀνδρίαν καὶ σταθερότητα, ἐναντίον μιᾶς δυνάμεως στρατευμάτων ἀσυγκρίτως μεγαλητέρας, ἐπειδὴ δὲν εἶχε φθάση ἀκόμι ἐκεῖ οὔτε τὸ τέταρτον στρατιωτικόν του σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδηγίαν τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ Βουλὸφ, οὔτε ἐγὼ ἠμποροῦσα νὰ τὸ βοηθήσω, καθὼς τὸ ἐπεθυμοῦσα, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐκτυποῦσεν ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ ἐμὲ τὸν ἴδιον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὰ στρατεύματά μου, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἱππικὸν, ὡσὰν ὁποῦ ἔπρεπε νὰ κάμουν δρόμον πολὺν, δὲν εἶχον ἀκόμι φθάση. Ημεῖς λοιπὸν διετηρήσαμεν ἀπαραβίαστον τὴν τοποθεσίαν μας, ἀπεκρούσαμεν ὁλοτελῶς, καὶ ἀπεδείξαμεν ματαίας ὅλας τὰς προσβολὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ὅσας ἔκαμε καθ' ἡμῶν διὰ νὰ τὴν κυριεύσῃ. Αλλ' αὐτὸς μᾶς ἐκτύπησεν ἐκ δευτέρου μὲ ἕνα πολυάριθμον ἐν ταὐτῷ ἱππικὸν καὶ πεζικὸν, ὑποστηριζόμενα ἀπὸ μίαν μεγάλην καὶ ἰσχυρὰν Αρτιλλιερίαν. Αὐτὸς ἔκαμε πολλὰς ἐφόδους μέ τὸ ἱππικόν του ἐναντίον τοῦ πεζικοῦ μας, ἀλλ' ἀπεκρούσθησαν ὅλαι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω μὲ τὴν πλέον ἄκαμπτον σταθερότητα. Τὸ Β. Α. Υ, ὁ Πρίγκιψ τοῦ Οράνζ, ὁ Δοὺξ τοῦ Βρουνσβὶκ, ὁ Αντιστράτηγος Σὲρ Θωμᾶς Πίκτων, ὁ Μαγγιὸρ Στρατηγὸς Σὲρ Ι. Κέμπτ, ὁ Σὲρ Δ. Πὰκ, οἵτινες εὑρέθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην ταύτην ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐφόδου τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ἐδείχθησαν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμάσιοι, καθὼς προσέτι καὶ ὁ Αντιστράτηγος Κάρολος Βαρ: Αλτεν, ὁ Μαγγιὸρ Στρατηγὸς Σὲρ Γ. Οάλκερ, ὁ Αντιστράτηγος Κὼκ, καὶ ὁ Μάγγιορ Στρατηγὸς Μάιτλανδ, καὶ ὁ Βῆνγ, καθ' ὅσον ἔλαβεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν μέρος εἰς τὴν μάχην. Τὰ στρατεύματα τῆς πέμπτης φαλαγγαρχίας καὶ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ Βρουνσβὶκ ἐπολέμησαν διὰ πολλὴν ὥραν καὶ μὲ πολλὴν ζέσιν, καὶ ἐφέρθησαν ἀνδρειότατα. Εγὼ ὅμως πρέπει νὰ ἀναφέρω ἐδῶ ῥητῶς καὶ κατ' ἐξοχὴν τὰ τάγματα 28, 42, 79, καὶ 92, καὶ τὴν Ἑπτακοσιαρχίαν τῶν Ἀνοβερέζων.

Ο δὲ ἐδικόσμας χαμὸς ἔγινε μεγάλος, καθὼς ἡ Εσας, θέλει ἰδῇ ἀπὸ τὸν περικλεισθέντα κατάλογον. ἀλλὰ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου ἐγὼ πρέπει νὰ συγκλάυσω κατ' ἐξοχὴν τὸ Υ. του, τὸν Γαληνότατον Δοῦκα τοῦ Βρουνσβὶκ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐφονεύθη μαχόμενος ἡρωϊκῶς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν Στρατευμάτων του.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Στρατάρχης Βλοῦσσερ, μ' ὅλον ὁποῦ εἶχε διαφυλάξη ἀπαραβίαστον τὴν εἰς τὸ Σομβρεὲφ τοποθεσίαν του, εὑρέθη ὅμως τόσον ἀδύνατος ἀπὸ τὴν αὐστηρότητα τῆς μάχης, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν εἶχεν ἐμβῇ, καὶ τόσον περισσότερον, ἐπειδὴ δὲν εἶχεν ἀκόμι φθάση ἐκεῖ τὸ τέταρτον σῶμά του, ὥστε ὁποῦ ἀπεφάσισε νὰ ὑποχωρήσῃ, καὶ νὰ συνάξῃ τὸ Στράτευμά του εἰς ἕν ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Οὐάβρες. Αὐτὸς λοιπὸν τὴν νύκτα ἐστράτευσε πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος ὕστερον ἀπὸ τὴν μάχην.

Τὸ κίνημα τοῦτο τοῦ προρρηθέντος Στρατάρχου μὲ ἠνάγκασε νὰ κάμω καὶ ἐγὼ τὸ ἴδιον κίνημα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτραβίχθην ἀπὸ το ὑποστατικὸν τοῦ Κονάτρε-βράς ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Γενέππε, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Οὐατερλόον τὰς 17 τῷ πρωΐ περὶ τὰς 10 ὥρας.

Ο ἐχθρὸς δὲν ἠθέλησε νὰ ἐπιχοιρισθῇ παντελῶς διὰ νὰ καταδιώξῃ τὸν Στρατάρχην Βλοῦσσερ, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μία νυκτοφυλακή, τὴν ὁποίαν ἔπεμψα πρὸς τὸ Σομβρεφ τὴν αὐγὴν, εὗρε τὰ πάντα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί του ἐχθροῦ ἀπετραβίζοντο, ὅσον περισσότερον ἐπροχωροῦσεν ἡ νυκτοφυλακή μου.

Αὐτὸς πρὸς τούτοις δὲν ἐπροσπάθισε μήτε νὰ ἐνοχλήσῃ τὴν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐκστρατείαν μας, μ' ὅλον ὁποῦ ἐγίνετο αὕτη κατὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ μεσημερίου, ἀλλὰ κατεδίωκε μόνον τὸ ἱππικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδηγίαν τοῦ Κόμητος Οὐέβριδγε μὲ πολὺ πλῆθος ἱππικὸν, τὸ ὁποῖον εἶχε τὸ τραβίξῃ ἀπὸ δεξιόν του κέρας.

Τοῦτο ἔδωκεν αἰτίαν πρὸς τὸν Κόμητα τοῦ Ουζβρίδγε νὰ ἐφορμήσῃ μὲ τὸ πρῶτον Τάγμα τῆς φρουρᾶς τοῦ ἱππικοῦ σώματος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἐχθρικὸν ἱππικὸν ἐξώρμησεν ἀπὸ τὸ χωρίον τοῦ Γενάππε: εἰς τὴν περίστασιν ταύτην ὡμολόγησεν ἡ Ε. του, ὅτι ἦτον εἰς τὸ ἄκρον εὐχαριστημένος ἀπὸ τὸ συνετὸν φέρσιμον τοῦ Τάγματος τούτου.

Η θέσις, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐγὼ κατέλαβον ἀπέναντι τοῦ Ουατερλόου, ἐκάλυπτε τὸν Βασιλικὸν δρόμον τοῦ Σαρλεροᾶ πφὸς τὴν Νιβέλλην, καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιόν της μέρος ἔκλινε πρὸς ἕνα κρημνὸν πλησίον τοῦ Μερκβραίνε, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτον κυριευμένον: τὸ δὲ ἀριστερόν της ἐξετείνετο πρὸς ἕνα λόφον ὑπεράνωθεν τοῦ Χωρίου Τερ-Λα-Χαηε, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτον καὶ αὐτὸ παρομοίως κυριευμένον.

Απέναντι τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέντρου, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δρόμου τῆς Νιβέλλης, ἡμεῖς ἐπιάσαμεν τὸ ὀσπήτιον καὶ τὸ περιβόλαιον Ουγουμὸντ, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐδιαυθέντευε τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῦ πλαγίου μέρους τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ κέντρου ἐπιάσαμεν τὸ ὑποστατικὸν τοῦ Χάη-Σαίντε. Ελάβομεν λοιπὸν ἀνταπόκρισιν πλησίον τοῦ ἀριστερούμας μὲ τὸν Στρατάρχην Πρίγγιπα Βλοῦσσερ ἀπὸ τὸ Οὐάβρες διὰ μέσου ταῦ Χόεϊμ: καὶ ὁ Στρατάρχης αὐτὸς μοὶ εἶχεν ὑποσχεσθῇ, ἀνίσως καὶ ἤθελε μᾶς κτυπήσῃ ὁ ἐχθρὸς, νὰ μὲ βοηθησῃ μὲ ἕνα καὶ μὲ περισσότερα σώματα, κατὰ τὴν χρείαν.

Ο δὲ ἐχθρος συνήθροισε τὸ στράτευμά του, ἐξαιρουμένου τοῦ τριτου σώματος (τὸ ὁποῖον εἶχε πέμψῃ διὰ νὰ παραφυλάττῃ τὰ κινήματα τοῦ Στρατάρχου Βλοῦσσερ) ἐπάνω εἰς μερικοὺς λόφους συνδεδεμένους τὸν ἕνα μὲ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπέναντι ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὴν νύκτα τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν 17 καὶ 18: ὅθεν ἄρχησε περὶ τὰς 10 ὥρας μίαν μανιώδη προσβολὴν ἐναντίον τῆς θέσεώς μας τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ουγουμὸντ. Εγὼ ἐκρατοῦσα τὴν θέσιν ἐκείνην μὲ ἕνα μέρος τῆς σπείρας τῶν φρουρῶν, ἤτις ὡδηγεῖτο ἀπὸ τὸν Στρατηγὸν Βῆνγ, ὅς τις ἦτον στρατοπεδευμένος ὄπισθεν τῆς αὐτῆς θέσεως: ἡ σπείρα αὕτη διευθύνθη μέχρι τινὸς ἀπὸ τὸν Αντιχιλίαρχον Μαγδονάλδ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπὸ τὸν Χιλίαρχον Χόμε. Λαμβάνω ὅμως τὴν εὐχαρίστησιν νὰ σᾶς προσθέσω, ὅτι ἡ θέσις αὕτη διετηρήθη ὅλην ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν μὲ τὴν μεγαλητέραν σύνεσιν ἀπὸ τὰ ἀνδρεῖα ταῦτα στρατεύματα, μ' ὅλον ὁποῦ σώματα πολυάριθμα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐπεχειρίσθησαν δὶς καὶ πολλάκις νὰ τὴν κυριεύσωσιν.

Η προσβολὴ ὅμως αὕτη τοῦ ἐχθροῦ κατὰ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους τοῦ κέντρου μας ἐδιαυθεντεύετο ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ κανονίας ἀδιακόπους ἐναντίον ὅλου τοῦ πεζικοῦ μας, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτον διωρισμένον νὰ διαυθεντευθῇ ἀπὸ τὰς ἀλλεπαλλήλους ἐφόδους τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ πεζικοῦ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐνωμένων ὁμοῦ εἰς τὰς προσβολὰς ταύτας ποτὲ δὲ καὶ χωρισμένων. Οθεν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐκυρίευσεν εἰς μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς ἐφόδους ταύτας τὸ ὑποστατικὸν τοῦ Χάη-Σαίντε, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐλαφρᾶς ἑπτακοσιαρχίας τοῦ λεγεῶνος, τὸ ὁποῖον τὴν ἐκυρίευεν, εἶχε τελειώσῃ ὅλα τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀναγαῖά του, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐχθρὸς εἶχε διακόψῃ τὴν μόνην ἀνταπόκρισιν τὴν μεταξὺ τῆς θέσεως ταύτης, καὶ τοῦ Στρατεύματός μας.

Ο ἐχθρὸς ἐκτύπησεν ἀλλεπαλλήλως τὸ πεζικόν μας μὲ τὸ ἱππικόν του, ἀλλ' αἱ προσβολαὶ αὗται ἐστάθησαν ἄπρακτοι καὶ μάταιαι, καὶ ἔδωκαν ἀφορμὴν νὰ κάμῃ τὸ ἱππικόν μας διαφόρους ἐφόδους, εἰς μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς ὁποίας ἡ σπεῖρα τοῦ Λὸρδ Ε. Σόμμερσετ ἡ συντιθεμένη ἀπὸ τὰς σωματοφρουρὰς, καὶ ἀπὸ τὰς φρουρὰς τὰς βασιλικὰς, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ πρῶτον Τάγμα τῶν φρουρῶν τῶν δραγόνων, ἐδείχθη εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἀνδρεία, καθὼς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἐκείνη τοῦ Μαγγιὸρ Στρατηγοῦ Σὲρ Γ. Πόνσομβη, μὲ τὸ νὰ ἐπῆρε πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἕνα Αετὸν. Τὰ κυπτήματα ταῦτα ἐγίνοντο συνεχῆ καὶ ἀλλεπάλληλα ἕως τὰς 7 ὥρας τῆς ἑσπέρας, ὁπόταν ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἐφώρμησε καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος μὲ τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ μὲ τὸ πεζικόν του, ὑποστηριζόμενα καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀδιάκοπον φωτίαν τῆς Αρτιλλιερίας του, διὰ νὰ συντρίψῃ τὸ ἀριστερόν μας κέντρον, τὸ πλησίον τοῦ ὑποστατικοῦ τοῦ Χάηε-Σαὶντ. Αλλ' ἡ ὁρμή του αὕτη ὕστερον ἀπὸ μίαν κρατερὰν συμπλοκὴν, ἀποκατέστη ματαία. Οθεν ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼ εἶδον, ὅτι τὰ Στρατεύματα τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀπετραβίζοντο ἀπὸ τὴν προσβολὴν ταύτην μὲ μεγαλωτάτην ἀταξίαν, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Στράτευμα τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ Βουλὺφ, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐστράτευε διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ Εὐσερμὸντ πρὸς τὸ Πλανσενὸρτ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Βέλλε ἀλλιάνσε, ἄρχιζε νὰ ἐνεργῇ, καὶ ἡ φωτία τῶν κανονίων του ἦτον ἤδη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πρίγκιψ Βλοῦσσερ μ' εἶχε προφθάση ὁ ἴδιος προσωπικῶς μὲ ἕνα σῶμα τοῦ στρατεύματός του κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερόν μέρος τῆς πεζικῆς σειρᾶς μας πλησίον τοῦ Χόεϊμ, ἐγὼ ἀπεφάσισα τότε νὰ κτυπήσω τὸν ἐχθρὸν, καὶ ἐδιόρισα παρευθὺς νὰ προχωρήσῃ ὅλον τὸ πεζικὸν, ὑποστηριζόμενον καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν Αρτιλλιερίαν. Η προσβολὴ αὕτη εὐωδώθη καὶ εὐδοκίμησε καθ' ὅλατης τὰ μέρη. Ο ἐχθρὸς λοιπὸν κατηναγκάσθη νὰ παραιτήσῃ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόφους τοποστασίαν του, ἐτράπη εἰς φυγὴν μετὰ μεγίστης ἀταξίας, καὶ ἄφησε, καθὼς ἐγὼ ἠμποροῦσα νὰ καταλάβω, ἑκατὸν πενῆντα κανόνια μὲ ὅλατους τὰ χρειαζόμενα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἔπεσον εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν μας. Εγὼ ἐξηκολούθησα νὰ καταδιώκω τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἱκανὴν ὥραν μετὰ τὴν δύσιν τοῦ Ηλίου, καὶ μόνον ἔπαυσα μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ τὸν καταδιώκω, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηύδησαν τὰ Στρατεύματάμου, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶχον πολεμήση διὰ 12 ὥρας ὁλοκλήρους κατὰ συνέχειαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ συναπαντήθην εἰς τὸν ἴδιον δρόμον μὲ τὸν Στρατάρχην Βλοῦσσερ, καὶ μὲ ἐβεβαίωσεν, ὅτι εἶχεν ἀποφασίση νὰ καταδιώξῃ τὸν ἐχφθὸν καθ' ὅλην ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα: ὅθεν μοὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸς σήμερον τὴν αὐγὴν τὴν εἴδησιν, ὅτι ἐπῆρεν 60 κανόνια ἐκ τῆς Αὐτοκρατορικῆς φρουρᾶς, καὶ διαφόρους ἀποσκευὰς καὶ πράγματα τοῦ Βοναπάρτε.

Εχω σκοπὸν νὰ προχωρήσω σήμερον τὴν αὐγὴν πρὸς τὴν Νιβέλλην, καὶ νὰ μὴ παύσω τὰ πολεμικάμου κινήματα.

Η Ε. σας πρέπει νὰ σημειώσῃ, ὅτι μία μάχη τόσον σφοδρὰ καὶ πεισματώδης δὲν ἠμποροῦσε νὰ συμβῇ, μήτε νὰ μᾶς δώσῃ τόσα τρόπαια χωρὶς μεγάλον χαμὸν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ μὲ λυπεῖ τὸ νὰ σᾶς προσθέσω, ὅτι ὁ ἐδικόςμας χαμὸς ἔγινεν ἄπειρος. Ἡ Α. Μ. ὑστερούμενος τὸν Αντιστράτηγον Σὲρ Θωμᾶν Πίκτον, ὑστερίθη ἕνα Οφφικιάλον, ὅς τις ἐδείχθη ἄριστος πολλόταταις φοραῖς εἰς τὴν δούλευσίν του, αὐτὸς ἐφονεύθη ἐνδόξως ὁδηγῶν τὴν φαλαγγαρχίαν του εἰς μίαν ἔφοδον μὲ τὴν βαγιονέτταν, διὰ μέσου τῆς ὁποίας ἀπεκρούσθη μία ἀπὸ τὰς ἰσχυροτέρας προσβολὰς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐναντίον τῆς θέσεώςμας. Ο Κόμης τοῦ Οὐξβρίδγε, ἀφ' οὗ ἐπολέμησεν εὐτυχῶς ὅλην τὴν χαλεπὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀργαλέαν ἡμέραν, ἐλαβώθη εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν σχεδὸν ἔφοδον, διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον φοβοῦμαι, ὅτι ἡ Μ. του θέλει στερηθῇ τὴν δούλευσίν του διὰ πολὺν καιρόν.

Τὸ Β. Α. Υ. ὁ Πρίγκιψ τοῦ Οράνζ ἐδείχθη ἄριστος, διὰ τὴν ἀνδρίαν του καὶ τὸ καλὸν φέρσιμόν του, ἕως ὅτου ἐλαβώθη εἰς τὸν ὦμον ἀπὸ ἕνα βόλιον τουφεκίου, δι' ὃ καὶ ἠναγκάσθη νὰ ἀναχωρήσῃ ἀπὸ τὸ Στρατόπεδον.

Μοὶ δίδει ἄκραν εὐχαριστησιν τὸ νὰ ἠμπορῶ νὰ βεβαιώσω τὴν Ε. σας, ὅτι ποτὲ ἄλλοτε δὲν ἐφέρθη τὸ στράτευμα μὲ τόσην ἀνδρίαν καὶ γενναιότητα. Η φαλαγγαρχία τῆς φρουρᾶς ἡ ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδηγίαν τοῦ Αντιστρατήγου Κὼκ, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐλαβώθη βαρέως, καὶ οἱ Μαγγιοροι Στρατηγοὶ Μάιτλανδ, καὶ ὁ βῆνγ, ἔδωκαν ἕνα παράδειγμα, τὸ ὁποῖον τὸ ἐμιμήθησαν ὅλοι: καὶ δὲν ὑπάρχει, τέλος πάντων, μήτε ἀξιωματικὸς, μήτε εἶδος κἀνένα στρατευμάτων, οἱ ὁποῖοι νὰ μὴν ἐφέρθησαν ἀνδρείως καὶ ἀξιοχρέως.

Εγὼ πρέπει ν' ἀναφέρω κατ' ἐξοχὴν (διὰ τῆς ἐπικυρώσεως τοῦ Β. Α. Υ.) τὸν Αντιστράτηγον Σὲρ Χ. Κλίντον, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Αδαμ, τὸν Αντιστράτηγον Κάρολον Βαρὼν Αλτεν, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Σὲρ Κόλλιν Αλκετ, οἵτινες ἐλαβώθησαν βαρέως, τὸν Χιλίαρχον Ομπρέδαν, καὶ Μιχαὴλ, ὅς τις ὁδηγοῦσε μίαν σπείραν τῆς τετάρτης Φάλαγγος, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Λαμβὲρτ, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Λὸρδ Ε. Σόμμερσετ, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Σὲρ Γ. Πονσομβῆ, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Σὲρ Κ. Γρὰντ, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Σὲρ Α. Βίβιαμ, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Ι. Βανδέλεουρ, τὸν Μαγ. Στρατ. Κόμητα Δορνβέργ. Εγὼ πρὸς τούτοις εἶμαι κατὰ πολλὰ ὑπόχρεως πρὸς τὸν Στρατ. Λὸρδ Ηλ, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ συμβοήθειάν του, καὶ διὰ τὸ καλὸν φέρσιμόν του, τόσον εἰς ταύτην, καθὼς καὶ εἰς κάθε ἄλλην προαπερασμένην περίστασιν.

Μὲ εὐχαρίστησεν εἰς τὸ ἄκρον ἡ ὁδηγία τῆς Αρτιλλιερίας καὶ τῶν Μηχανικῶν ἀπὸ τοὺς χιλιάρχους Σὲρ Γ. Βύοδ καὶ Σμῆθ, καὶ ἔχω ὅλην τὴν εὐχαρίστησιν ἀπὸ τὸ φέρσιμον τοῦ γενικοῦ ὑπαισπιστοῦ, τοῦ Μαγ. Στρατηγοῦ Βάρνες, (ὅς τις ἐλαβώθη) καὶ τοῦ γενικοῦ Εφόρου τῶν κατοικημάτων, τοῦ χιλιάρχου Δανλασῆ, ὅς τις ἐκτυπήθη ἀπὸ μίαν μπάλλαν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς μάχης ταύτης. Ο θάνατος τοῦ Αξιωματικοῦ τούτου φέρει ζημίαν μεγάλην πρὸς τὴν δούλευσιν τῆς Α. Μ. καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἐμὲ κατὰ τὴν στιγμὴν ταύτην. Εἶμαι πρὸς τούτοις πολλὰ χρεώστης εἰς τὴν συμβοήθειαν τοῦ Αντιχιλιάρχου Λὸρδ Φίτζροη Σόμμερσετ, ὅς τις ἐλαβώθη βαρέως, καὶ τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν τῆς πρώτης μου τάξεως, οἵτινες ὑπέφερον ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον εἰς τὴν μάχην ταύτην. Ο τιμιώτατος Αντιχιλίαρχος Σὲρ Α. Γόρδον, ὅς τις ἀπέθανεν ἀτὸ τὰς λαβωματίας του, ἦτον ἕνας ἀξιωματικὸς ἀξιόλογος, καὶ ἡ Α. Μ. ζημιοῦται μεγάλως εἰς τὴν δούλευσίν του ἀπὸ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Οφφικιάλου τούτου.

Ο Στρατηγὸς Κροῦζε ὁ εἰς τὴν δούλευσιν τῆς Νασσοβίας μὲ εὐχαρίστησεν ἄκρως μὲ τὸ καλὸν φέρσιμόν του, καθὼς προσέτι καὶ ὁ Στρατηγὸς Τριπ, ὁ ὁδηγῶν μίαν σπείραν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ βαρέος, καὶ ὁ Στρατ. Βανόρε, ὁ ὁδηγῶν μίαν σπείραν τοῦ πεζικοῦ τοῦ Βασιλέως τῶν Κάτω-Χωρῶν.

Ο Στρατ. Πόντζος τοῦ Βόργου, ὁ Στρατ. Βαρ: Βικέντιος, ὁ Στρατ. Μοῦφφλινγ, ὁ Στρατ. Αλβόας παρευρέθησαν εἰς τὸ Στρατόπεδον καθ' ὅλην τὴν μάχην, καὶ μὲ ἐβοήθησεν ὅσον περισσότερον ἐδυνήθησαν. Ο Βαρ: Βικέντιος ἐλαβώθη, ἀλλ' ὄχι βαρέως ὡς ἐλπίζω, καὶ ὁ Στρατ. Πόντζος τοῦ Βόργου ἔλαβεν ἕνα ζούλισμα εἰς ἕνα μέρος τοῦ σώματός του.

Εγὼ ἤθελε κάμω ἄδικον τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μου, καθὼς καὶ τῷ Στρατάρχου Βλοῦσσερ, καὶ τοῦ Προυσσικοῦ Στρατεύματος, ἀνίσως δὲν ἀπέδιδον τὸ εὐτυχὲς ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς χαλεπῆς ταύτης ἡμέρας πρὸς τὴν πρόθυμον καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τῷ προσήκοντι προσφερθεῖσαν μοι βοηθειαν τους. Τὸ κίνημα τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ Βουλὸφ ἐναντίον τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἐστάθη ἕνα ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ὁποῦ κατεδίκασαν περισσότερον τοῦ ἐχθροῦ τὴν τύχην. Καὶ ἀνίσως ἐγὼ καὶ δὲν ἤθελεν ἠμπορέσω νὰ κάμω τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ προσβολὴν ἥτις ἐπέφερε τὸ τέλειον ἀποτέλεσμα, τὸ κίνημα τοῦ Στρατηγοῦ τούτου ἤθελεν ἀναγκάση τὸν ἐχθρὸν νὰ τραβιχθῇ, ἂν κατὰ τόχην δὲν ἤθελεν εὐδοθῶσιν αἱ προσβολαί του, καὶ ἤθελε τὸν ἐμποδίση νὰ προχωρήσῃ, ἀνίσως κατὰ δυστυχίαν ἤθελεν εὐδοκιμήσωσι.

Μαζὴ μὲ τὸ ἐξ Οφφικίου γράμμα τοῦτο, πέμπω καὶ δύω Αετοὺς, τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπῆραν τὰ στρατεύματά μου εἰς τὴν μάχην ταύτην, καὶ τοὺς ὁποίους ὁ Μαγγιόρος Περσῆ θέλει λάβη τὴν τιμὴν νὰ τοὺς ὑποβάλῃ εἰς

τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Β. Α. Υ. λαμβάνω τὴν εὐκαιρίαν ταύτην διὰ νὰ τὸν συστήσω πρὸς τὴν ὑπεράσπισιν τῆς Ε. σας, καὶ ἐν ταὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν νὰ τῆς εἶμαι.

(Ὑπογεγραμμένος) ΟΥΕΛΛΑΙΝΓΤΟΝ.

ΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΗ. Αφ' οὗ ἔγραψα τὸ παρὸν, ἔλαβον τὴν εἴδησιν, ὅτι ὁ Μαγ. Στρατ. Σὲρ Γ. Πονσομβῆ ἐφονεύθη. ὅθεν δίδωντάς σας τὴν εἴδησιν ταύτην πρέπει νὰ σᾶς προσθέσω, ὅτι ἐλυπήθην ἐκ καρδίας διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀξιωματικοῦ τούτου, ὅς τις εἶχεν ἤδη προσφέρῃ πολλὰς λαμπρὰς καὶ ἀξιολόγους ἐκδουλεύσεις, καὶ ἦτον τὸ καύχημα καὶ ἡ καλλονὴ τοῦ ἰδίου του ἐπαγγέλματος.

ΠΡΟΣΘΗΚΗ. Εως τοῦ νῦν δὲν ἠμπόρεσα νὰ συνάξω καὶ νὰ σᾶς πεμψω τοὺς κατ' ὄνομα καταλόγους τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν λαβωμένων, ἀλλὰ σᾶς περικλείω ἕνα κατάλογον τῶν ἀξιωματικῶν, ὅσοι ἐφονεύθησαν καὶ ἐλαβώθησαν εἰς τὰς δύω ταύτας ἡμέρας τῆς μάχης, μὲ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, ὅσην ἠμποροῦν νὰ ἔχωσιν οἱ κατ' ὄνομα κατάλογοι, καὶ χαίρω μεγάλως, ἐπειδὴ ἠμπορῶ νὰ σᾶς εἰπῶ, ὅτι ὁ Χιλίαρχος Δελανσῆς δὲν ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὅτι εἶναι ἐλπίδες περὶ τῆς ὑγείας του.

(Ἡ Εφημερὶς, Τίμες.)

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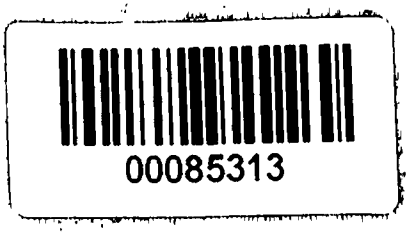
The MSS. in which these Travels are contained form two immense volumes in folio, which are preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. That part of these massy volumes which records the Travels of Prince Cosmo in this country, has long been an object of eager curiosity to all Englishmen who have visited Florence, and particularly to the numerous travellers who have resided in that city for a longer or shorter interval, since the peace.

Amongst the persons who accompanied Cosmo in his travels was Count Lorenzo Magalotti, who was eminently distinguished amongst the Italian literati of that period by his proficiency in science and by his general erudition. In a subsequent part of his life, he became the correspondent of Lord Somers and of Sir Isaac Newton. The Narrative of the present Travels was composed by Magalotti; and the circumstance just mentioned is sufficient to prove that the author was no ordinary man. The style of the Italian composition is peculiarly perspicuous and elegant.

Magalotti appears to have kept a regular diary of Cosmo's proceedings; of the mode in which he passed his time, of the persons he saw, and the places he visited. The reader will, perhaps, regret that Magalotti did not ramify his Narrative into more minute and copious details; but still it will be found to mention some particulars relative to the King, to the persons about his court, and to the current events of the time, which are not to be found in other works, and which throw some light on the manners and history of that period. Cosmo preserved a strict *incognito* during his stay in England; but this rather facilitated than impeded the acquisition of information; as, wherever he went, he was less encumbered by oppressive formalities, than he would otherwise have been; while his views both of men and things were less likely to be perverted by parade and darkened by ceremony. Cosmo had much familiar intercourse with Charles the Second, particularly at Newmarket; where the Monarch threw off the exterior parade of the Sovereign, and exhibited himself in the character of a private Gentleman.

The views, which accompany the Work, appear to have been traced with great ability, fidelity, and care; and, as many of the scenes which they represent have since undergone considerable alterations, and are no longer what they then were, they may be considered as valuable in various lights, but particularly as making an interesting addition to our stock of Topographical Antiquities.

The whole Work will be comprised in one volume 4to.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